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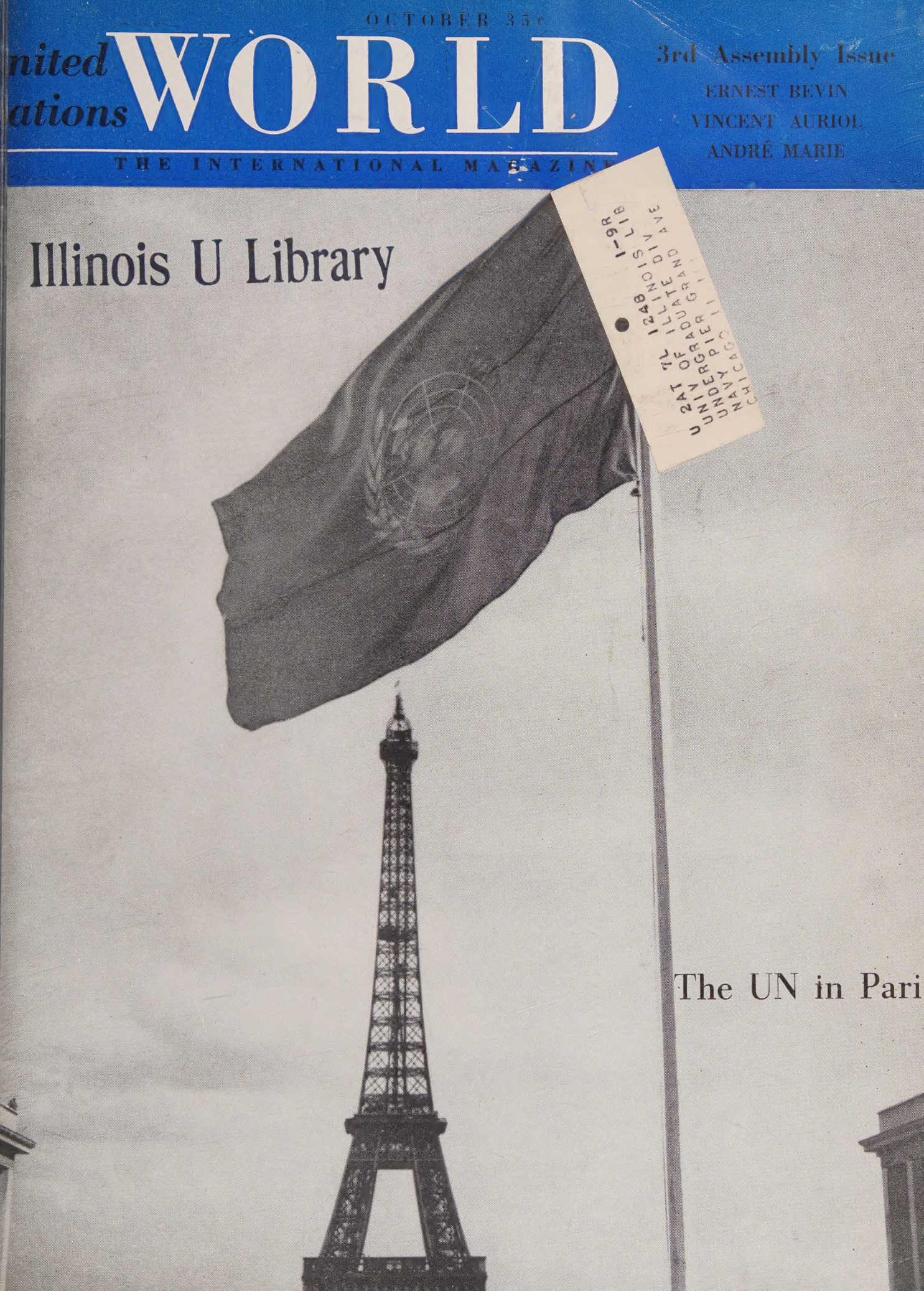

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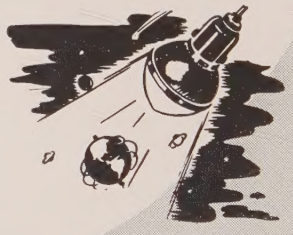

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STATE OF THE WORLD

AN INSIDE REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—
ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION OF WORLD
POLITICAL, MILITARY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOVES

The Five Faces Of Soviet Diplomacy

Only that of Berlin wears an Army cap

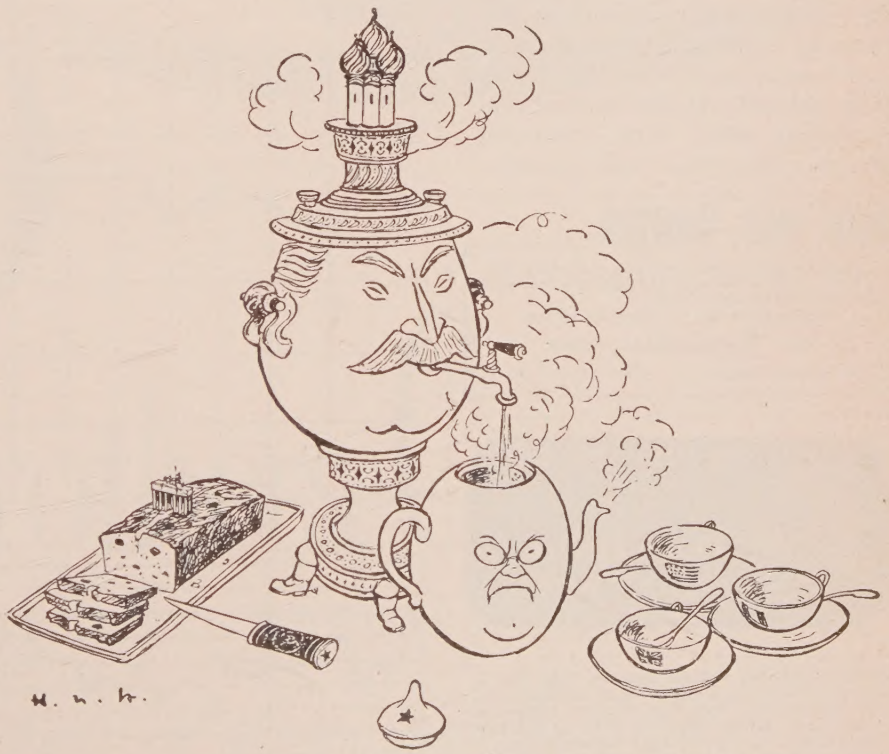
THE befuddled Western Democrat who was unwilling to "fight for Czechoslovakia" in 1938, and who, in 1939, declared that "Danzig isn't worth a war," today looks at Berlin with frightful indecision. For Berlin today is less the name of a city than a reminder of past errors, a synonym for confusion and contradictions.

If Berlin bewilders the average man, the trained observer is often scarcely better off. For it has become the focal point for contrived chaos, for stage-managed crisis—as well as an authentic source of friction among the great powers.

Western military experts fail to see signs of an immediate war. The whole Soviet Zone of Germany and neighboring Poland are honeycombed with spies, most of them reporting directly to Maj. Gen. Kenneth Strong in London. These spies report that political rather than military advisers continue to predominate in Marshal Sokolovsky's headquarters at Karlshorst near Berlin; that routine activities prevail in Marshal Rokosovsky's advance headquarters in Liegnitz 80 miles east of Berlin; that no large-scale troop movements are evident; that no concentration of weapons is observed. Current Soviet maneuvers in the Baltic region, though the cause of alarm in Denmark, had been planned and announced long before the outbreak of the Berlin crisis.

LONDON: Diplomatic experts profess concern over what has been called the "Janus-faced" Soviet diplomacy. They cannot understand the conflicting attitudes of Russian negotiators, ranging from stiff-necked irreconciliability to occasional conciliation.

The fact is that as of this moment, Soviet diplomacy has five—not two—faces. One is revealed in Moscow where the Stalin-Molotov duet continues conversations with the western envoys on an on-again-off-again basis—Stalin being the "on" face, Molotov the "off." Another face is shown in Berlin where Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, Minister of the Armed Forces, personally represents the Politbureau behind the medal-chested front of Vassily Sokolovsky. A third face is revealed in Geneva where another Politbureau stalwart, Anastasius Mikoyan, works for renewed East-West trade through the ambiguous diplomacy of A. A. Arutunian. The fourth face is that of Andrei Vishinsky in Paris, conducting the Soviet Union's familiar UN lightning and thunder diplomacy. The fifth face is that of Georgi Malenkov, trying to straighten out the network of eastern alliances somewhat strained by independent thinkers in Belgrade, Warsaw—and elsewhere (see Leo Lania's eye-witness report, on page 29).



[QUOTING BEDELL SMITH] "STALIN OFFERED US TEA AND CAKE."
[*The Cake is Berlin*]

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State of the World *continued*

MOSCOW: Political analysts rediscover in the strategy and tactics of Soviet diplomacy classic revolutionary methods. Lenin left behind a rich heritage of practical injunctions which Stalin is now applying to current diplomatic exigencies. Thus Lenin advised that Bolsheviks "must master *all* forms or sides of social activity [and] must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner."

Stalin in his own writings has gone beyond Lenin and provided the world a veritable glossary of diplomatic dialectics.

■ Political strategy: "The determination of the main blow and the elaboration of a corresponding plan."

■ Strategic plan: The "plan of organization of the decisive blow in a direction in which the maximum results are most likely to be obtained."

■ Political tactics: "Part of strategy, subordinate and subservient to it. . . . The most important task of tactics is to determine the ways and means, the forms and methods of fighting which correspond to the concrete situation of the moment and are most certain to prepare the way for strategical success."

■ Diplomacy: It is foolish "to deny the existence of controversies between the capitalist countries, to overrate international unanimity among them and underrate the inherent contradictions within these imperialist groups, controversies and contradictions which do exist and which inevitably lead to war. . . . It is on these controversies that the activities of Soviet diplomacy must be based. The *raison d'être* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to take stock of these controversies in the enemy camp, to exploit and to manipulate them."

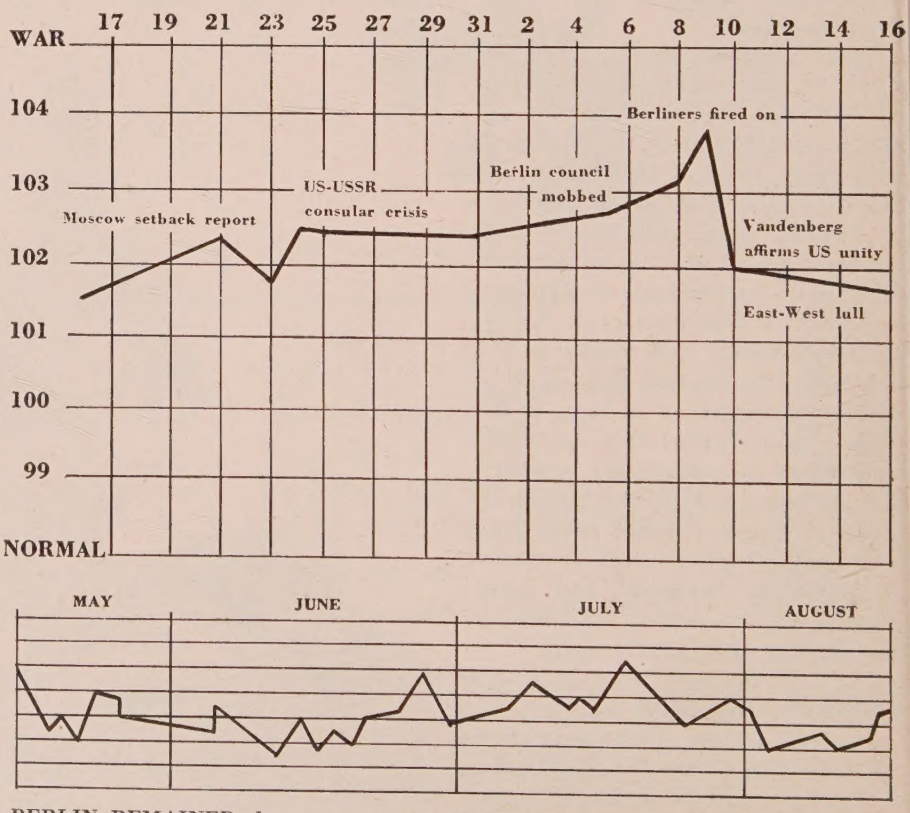
The salient features of this glossary were first translated into international realities in Chapter VI of the *Program of the Comintern.* They were revived in a secret protocol signed by nine European Communist Parties in September, 1947, at the founding meeting of the Cominform. UNITED NATIONS WORLD can now reveal that this protocol contains a topical paraphrase of the famous "Ercoli Resolution" (named after Palmiro Togliatti of Italy who conceived it) passed by the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, in 1935.

It reads: ". . . The most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that . . . the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount. If the outbreak of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the armed forces of the USSR in motion for the defense of socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers to work, with all the means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists."

The 1947 resolution was moved by Zhdanov and was accepted without debate. But last year's unanimity no longer exists. In fact this resolution figured prominently among the motivations of Marshal Tito in loosening the ties that bound Yugoslavia to Soviet foreign policy. It was at least partly responsible for Polish defections, the true magnitude of which has not been published yet. It isolates the Czechoslovak and Rumanian communists who continue to adhere to it blindly, and it has caused deep splits within Hungarian and Bulgarian Communist ranks.

On the basis of the known views of Europe's most important Communist leaders, it is safe to say that the united front of Eastern Europe—once a major asset in the Kremlin's calculations—no longer exists in a firm, unconditional, co-ordinated form. Communist leaders, beset by regional problems and the unsuppressible na-

FEVER CHART OF WORLD TENSION



BERLIN REMAINED the sore spot, engendering symptoms that turned up in other areas. The secondary focus during late August was New York where charges and countercharges of illegal police action held US-USSR tension at a high point for days.

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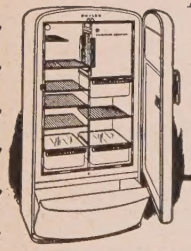

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State of the World *continued*

tionalistic instincts of their peoples, have told Moscow that they would be most reluctant to follow any one to war. This decision, virtually cancelling out the secret resolution of the Warsaw Cominform, provides an additional guarantee for continued peace.

PARIS: Neutral observers profess to find more safeguards against imminent war in the fact that disunity and instability continue to plague the West as well. The razor's-edge qualities of the French political scene impress London and Washington with the immense precariousness of the costly balance of the west (see Louis Dolivet's article on page 13). Britain's western European policy is by no means firm. Now it reveals a series of "second thoughts" on Benelux and the Western Union.

Belgium and France, especially, look questioningly to Whitehall, still awaiting practical implementation of the lofty phrases with which the Foreign Office prepared the new western European alignment. The Franco-Italian economic *rapprochement*, essential for both, is delayed by raised eyebrows in the London Foreign Office, such a hint sufficing these days to cause Quai d'Orsay and Palazzo Chigi to pause once more before committing themselves to definitive action.

ROME: In Italy, postponements and delays of Premier Alcide de Gasperi's promised social reforms and other pre-election pledges cut deeply into the popularity of the broad Roman coalition. European realities are far removed from the fantastic dream-world of American headlines.

WASHINGTON: A major decision was reached in the White House after months of soul-searching and stock-taking. President Truman is said to have decided to enter his campaign with a determined platform of peace. This decision, we are told, was communicated to the Pentagon and provoked at least some questions at the recent Rhode Island conference of the Joint Chiefs.

The President is represented as being sincerely convinced that the peace of the world can be preserved and that he is the best man to preserve it. There is some talk of recent direct communications between Truman and Stalin, with the Soviet leader taking the initiative. It is a fact that the Kremlin now soft-pedals its opposition to ERP and permits occasional criticism of the Progressive Party as "utopian"—a Marxist expletive predating "Trotskyist" by more than a century. There are, in fact, reasonably well-substantiated reports out of Moscow that Stalin is no longer opposed to the re-election of Truman.

Stalin's attitude may undergo still another change now that he has had an opportunity to talk things over with Yakob Lomakin, his ex-Consul General in New York. Lomakin is respected in the Kremlin as a shrewd observer with a clear, unbiased journalistic mind. In the past Stalin has preferred his reports to those of Ambassadors. Gromyko and Lomakin worked most closely in the US—the latter frequently dominating the former.

Lomakin kept in close touch with US domestic politics and was friendly with top American businessmen, most of them Republicans. His reports to Stalin might have reiterated the conviction he once openly voiced at a cocktail party in the house of a New York tycoon: "Believe it or not, American big business is our [the Soviet's] only remaining friend in the United States" (see UNW, July, 1947).

Asia's Troubles Do Not Diminish

Half the world is Asia. Half the world's problems are Asian. Yet the egocentric West is almost blind to them. In the past few weeks, however, two great pictures have been flashed on the world screen, one grim, one hopeful.

Dr. Thomas Parran, former US Surgeon General, says that the health problem there is grave, and the $3,300,000 voted by the UN Children's Emergency Fund is only a drop in the bucket.

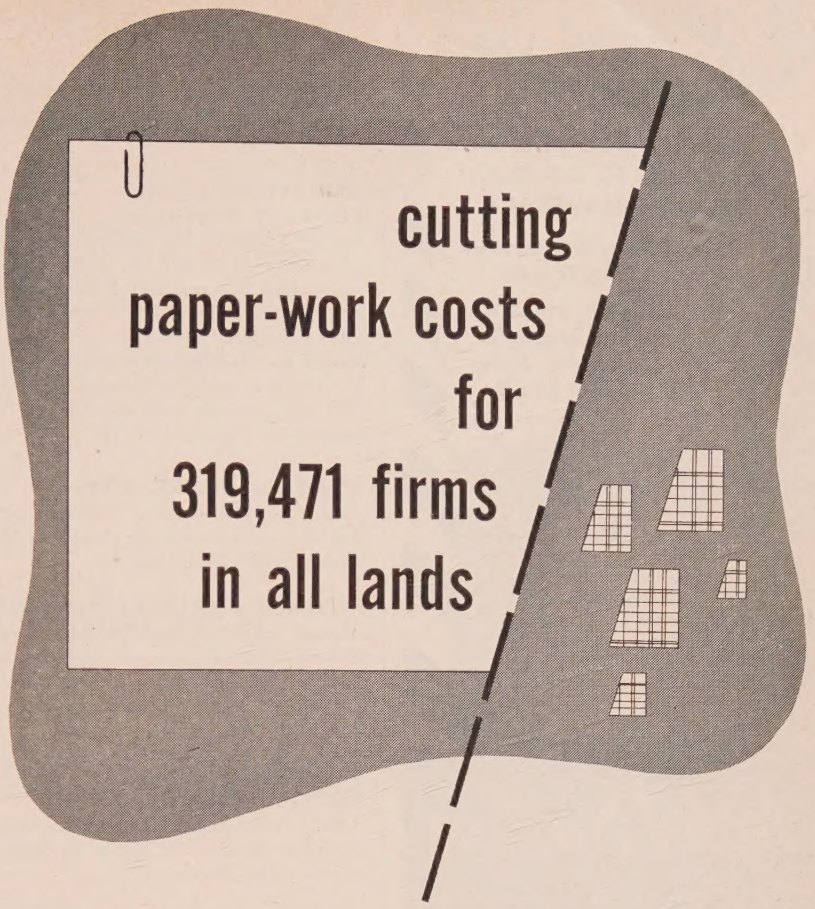
On the brighter side, the UN Economic and Social Council has voted to create the first international bureau for the control of floods.

HINA has put her currency on a -called gold basis, in a desperate fort to check the "malignant inflaon" described in these columns st month. Speculators and hoarders e being tried for high treason. Meanwhile the Communists anounced the formation of a "North hina People's Government," as forerunner of a new government for all China. Hong Kong dissidents are oing ahead with their plan despite severe blow in the death of the Christian ganeral," Feng Yu-hsiang.

ERUSALEM: Count Bernadotte's ission as UN mediator in the Palesne war did not end with his assassiation. His report, which arrived at ne Palais de Chaillot at the same oment as the news of his death, is living document which will have reater influence than if he had lived present it in person. The tragedy at befell him promises to provide ne safeguards for which he so rgently pleaded.

Count Bernadotte is the sixth nited Nations official murdered in alestine alone. Groups on both Jewsh and Arab sides have used the eapon of terror against these men hose sole aim was conciliation on ehalf of the highest international uthority. The criminals responsible or the assassination—as well as their oral and intellectual accomplices—ust be punished. The crime they ommitted was not merely a violation f the law of Israel, but also that of he UN laid down in the Security ouncil resolution of July 15, 1948.

The Editors of UNW bow to the emory of the UN men who fell in he crossfire of national battlefields. n the July issue of UN WORLD, it as suggested that the Nobel Peace rize might well go to Count Bernalotte. Though his life, as an indiidual, was not more sacred than that f the least-known common man lain in Hyderabad or Kashmir or erlin or Palestine itself, the Swedsh peacemaker may yet mightily trengthen the arm of Peace. His eath will have clinched once and for ll his argument that good will alone annot stop a war. The Security ouncil must now provide the force hat will guarantee the effectiveness f its missions and the lives of their nembers.



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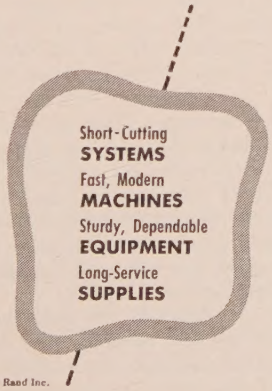

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RUMANIANS CLOSE FOREIGN SCHOOLS

August 2, Bucharest. Decree also calls for government taking over religious schools, compulsory instruction in Russian after fifth grade, only four primary grades compulsory, however. (186:48)

August 8, Paris. French note protests closing of French schools in Rumania, and Rumanian note protests expulsion of nine Rumanians from France. (187:48)

US-CHINA AGREEMENT

August 4, Washington. Five-man commission to improve economic condition of rural China established. (188:48)

AUSTRIA PROTESTS TO USSR

August 5, Vienna. Protests removal of vital railway material from the storehouses and yards at Woerth, and claims that the material is essential to the operation of the railway. (189:48)

YUGOSLAVIA STOPS FOREIGN TRAVEL

August 9, Belgrade. All passports cancelled. Travelers required to apply for new documents. (190:48)

KOREA BECOMES A REPUBLIC

August 12, Washington. US recognizes government of Korea by appointing special representative with ambassadorial rank. (191:48)

August 15, Seoul. President Syngman Rhee proclaims Republic of Korea. (192:48)

US-USSR EXCHANGE RE: SOVIET TEACHERS

August 12, Moscow. Molotov note protests US authorities "connivance in the . . . criminal action regarding Soviet citizens Kasenkina and Samarin and his family." Requests release of above mentioned and transfer to the Soviet General Consulate in New York, as well as for punishment for those who took part in "the kidnaping of Soviet citizens." (193:48)

August 13, New York. Statement by Consul General Lomakin places blame for Kasenkina suicide attempt on persecution by US press. (193:48a)

August 13, Washington. US, through Ambassador W. B. Smith, denied complicity in plot to kidnap USSR citizens, and declared they would facilitate return of the Samarins only if they wished to return to the USSR. (193:48b)

August 14, Washington. Note from Ambassador Panyushkin requests that Kasenkina be placed under protection of Soviet Consul General. Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett informs the USSR Ambassador that the US could not require Kasenkina to do anything against her will providing she was acting within the law. (193:48c)

August 20, Washington. US note answers USSR protests and requests that Soviet Consul General Lomakin be recalled since his conduct was abusive of his position and a violation of internationally accepted st ards governing the conduct of foreign cials. (193:48d)

August 25, Moscow. Soviet government nies allegations made in US note of Au 20, and decides to close both USSR sulates in US. Requests US to close im diately its consulate in Vladivostok, an disregard progress made toward openi US consulate in Leningrad. (193:48e)

ARGENTINA VOTES UNLIMITE POWERS FOR PERON

August 13, Buenos Aires. General Org zation Law gives president unlimited po when he believes an emergency ex (194:48)

August 14, Buenos Aires. Deputies measure to amend constitution. (194:4

DANUBE CONVENTION VOTED

August 13, Belgrade. Complete contro Danube navigation placed in hands of U and six riparian states. (195:48)

US NAVAL AIDE ACCUSED BY SOVIET

August 15, Moscow, Washington. So accuse Lt. Robert Dreher of being spy. State Department emphatically denies a sations and charges "frame-up." (196:4

GREEK-ALBANIAN INTERCHANG

August 18, Athens. Greek governm through the UN demands that Albania arm and intern escaped Greek rebels accordance with international law and resolution. (197:48)

August 24, Lake Success. Albania ref to coöperate with UN Balkan Committee grounds that she considers it illegal contrary to peace. (197:48a)

SWEDISH NOTE TO GUATEMA

August 21, Guatemala. Warns that Swe will stop import of Guatemalan coffee if posed tariff on matches is passed. (198:

FRANCO-SPANISH AIR PACT

August 23, Madrid. Specifies numerous routes including direct flights among Pa Madrid and Barcelona, and flights all way from Paris to Santiago de C (199:48)

TITO PROTESTS TO RUMANIA

August 25, Belgrade. Note from Yugos government accuses Rumanian Foreign M ister Pauker of grossly insulting the Yu slav government and trying to fomen revolution. (200:48)

US NOTE TO SEVEN NATIONS R ANTARCTICA

August 28, Washington. US note to Arg tina, Australia, Chile, France, New Z land, Norway, Britain proposes a form international control to govern area o which seven nations have overlapp claims. (201:48)

(For Economics record see page 55)

few hours before resigning his office Prime Minister of France, M. Andre arie prepared this exclusive article for NITED NATIONS WORLD.

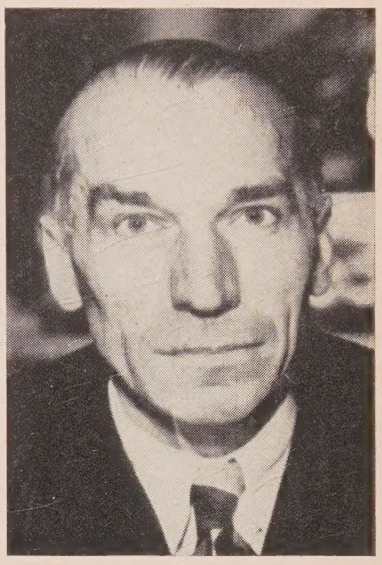
Despite his preoccupation with the ive political and economic difficulties ing his government, the Prime Min- er took time to spell out for the world read the permanent nature of French licy in supporting without limit the nited Nations.

Above all, the Prime Minister was ger to make clear that the idea of a nited States of Europe, which the rench government has espoused, must integrated into the framework of the nited Nations and must rest exclusively the Charter.

FORMER PRIME MINISTER, NOW DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE, GIVES UNW EXCLUSIVE STATEMENT ON FRANCE'S POSITION REGARDING EUROPEAN FEDERATION WITHIN UN

Andre Marie Explains

Where France Stands



THE AUTHOR—HE SPEAKS FOR FRANCE

AMID the world's uncertainty and anxiety as to the future of the eace, the opening in Paris of the eneral Assembly of the United Na- ions takes on a special symbolic ignificance. To this symbolism must e added the political impact upon ne Assembly of an agenda crowded ith problems, weightier and more umerous than that of any of its pre- ecessors.

To restore confidence, and to im- art to the millions of men and wo- nen who live in fear, that feeling of tability indispensable to reconstruc- ion, the topics on the current agenda nust be constructively threshed out n an atmosphere of good will.

While thus proving that the desire o co-operate and the fraternal spirit vhich led the Allies to victory are till alive, the General Assembly will renew hope for all those who believe hat henceforth international con- licts can be resolved by law and not y force. The Assembly will fulfill he aspiration of free peoples who vant to strengthen the UN's authority nd endow it with the effective means for becoming the instrument of a system of collective security. Once this goal is achieved, and once the UN is given an international force sufficient to maintain the peace, a program of progressive and controlled disarmament—still the dream of all peace-loving peoples—can get under way.

The policy of collective security is nothing new to France. Between the World Wars, France had ceaselessly been striving to strengthen the authority of the League of Nations and attach to it an international police force. The failure of this endeavor ran counter to France's intentions and exertions.

The establishment of a European Federation, favored by French policy, is rooted in the same urgency to develop international co-operation. The French conception of a "United States of Europe," far from reflecting any aim to set up a group outside the United Nations, exclusively rests upon the framework of the Charter which provides, in articles 52 to 54, for regional arrangements. In the French approach, the European Federation is not directed against any country, or group of countries, but is solely a regional application of the universal principles of the United Nations.

The advantages which the 48 states of America derive from their union, as well as the services that the Pan-American Union has rendered to its members and to the world community, are valuable in encouraging European states in their own efforts to foster unity.

Work on behalf of the United Nations must not be confined to activities of the delegations. Every people must take part in this task, become familiar with the problems facing the Assembly, and broaden its knowledge of, and interest in, world affairs. The day is gone when it was enough to say "I'm for peace."

All peoples, as well as individual citizens, must bend all their energies to acquire a thorough knowledge of the principles of the Charter and participate actively in the progress of the new international organization.

THE WORLD IS SPLIT BY EAST-WEST IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

UNITED NATIONS JUDGMENTS ARE NOT ALWAYS IMPARTIAL

THE VETO IS EMPLOYED TO HAMSTRING ACTION

AND ANGRY NATIONS IGNORE RULINGS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

It's Not the Machiner

...*It's the Men Not Working*

By Ernest Bevin

Foreign Secretary in the British Labor Government

In this exclusive article written to signalize the publication of the first issue of the British edition of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD, Britain's Foreign Secretary summarizes the achievements, the difficulties and the prospects of the United Nations.

Mr. Bevin does not advocate revision in the machinery of the United Nations since, in his view, no amount of amending can make the UN effective if the will to have it accomplish its purposes does not exist among the nations.

In his article in the British edition of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD, Mr. Bevin underlines, in the following words, the importance of the newly established magazine:

> "UNITED NATIONS WORLD is about to embark upon a most important task, that of spreading the knowledge of the principles and activities of the United Nations. The spreading of such knowledge will not only strengthen the foundations on which the United Nations rest at present, but, if UNITED NATIONS WORLD promotes an understanding of the problems at issue it will also contribute to a lasting solution of them.
>
> "I send good wishes for your success."

THE UNITED NATIONS was given an almost impossible task. It began at San Francisco by creating high hopes, as did its predecessor, the League of Nations, in 1919. Those who have been accustomed to international affairs recognized that it would have no easy passage.

Perhaps it is best that it should have its difficulties now rather than start off in an atmosphere which would have misled the world. The discussions which have taken place at its meetings in the last three years have revealed the great differences which exist between the East and the West, and I have no doubt the way cases have been presented and argued has caused disillusionment and disappointment. Nevertheless the difference was there and could not be hid.

It is better that the world should know and shape its policy accordingly. I am sure it was the hope both of its founders and of the publ generally that the United Natio would be judicial in character, th it would hear the evidence, that would endeavor to find just solutio and that whether the nation appea ing before it was big or small, t organ before which it appear would be endowed both with t ability and the courage to gi prompt decisions, on which the would be a spirit of observan throughout the world.

But that has not been the cas The situation is that, if the decisi has been favorable, well and goo So far as the Soviet Union is co cerned, when the decision has n suited, then its representatives ha vetoed it; and the frequent use this veto has destroyed confiden in getting matters settled in a amicable and just manner. Still, repeat, it is better to have had a this now so that the world can a praise the value of the instrument has created for the preservation

t Fault

THE AUTHOR: IF PEACE IS MADE, HE CONTENDS, THE UN MUST DO IT

peace should great crises arise in the future.

However, in many of the organs of the United Nations great work has been accomplished. In the technical, social and cultural fields much has been done and there is a spirit of enterprise and energy which has brought reward for the money expended and the effort made. The Security Council itself has done good work. It has helped to avoid bloodshed in several places. The great question is whether it is an instrument which will be allowed to handle or be capable of handling greater problems, should they arise.

In saying this I should add that it is not the responsibility of the United Nations that greater success has not been achieved. It has been affected by the ravages of war, by the ideological conflict between the East and West and it has been called upon to deal with the rise of nationalism in various parts of the world. The problems which have had to be faced by it are unprecedented.

For this reason I have not advocated a radical revision of the machinery provided by the United Nations. I have never believed that the mere revision of the machinery would make an organization of this character work. It is a question of whether there is the will among the nations to make it achieve its purpose. If there is, it can. If that is absent, no amount of amending of the Charter can effect a cure.

I sometimes wonder if ever the will will be created. Still, we must go on trying. If in this generation we can succeed in stopping aggression, whether military or ideological, and if we can succeed in creating confidence which allows nations to live in peace and security—and particularly the smaller nations—then we shall have achieved a great purpose. It never can be so achieved if there is deliberate distortion of facts to selfish ends, if the United Nations is used for propaganda purposes, or if it fails to maintain such a responsible attitude that all the nations will look up to it and respect it.

His Majesty's Government have worked and will continue to work to promote such an atmosphere in the Assembly. Whatever may be said of us or however much abuse may be leveled at us, we shall continue to work with patience, good faith and resolution.

World Neighborhood

THE preamble of the Charter of the United Nations states:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights . . . to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors . . ."

The desire to make a neighborhood out of the world is on the lips and in the prayers of thinking men and women everywhere. The majority of all people want to live in peace, but we must actively build the world neighborhood of peace and goodwill set forth in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations.

We must study world affairs and understand the aims and ambitions of the people of other nations, who must in turn understand our aims and ambitions.

The natural resources of the world are unequally divided. This makes each nation dependent upon many others in order that it may enjoy the benefit of those resources. The exchange of goods and services, men and methods, ideas and ideals on a mutual basis is essential to the building of a world neighborhood.

The United States Government is pledged to the United Nations, but it is the privilege and obligation of each citizen to participate in the development of the world neighborhood set forth in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations.

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*On duty at the General Assembly in Paris.

UN WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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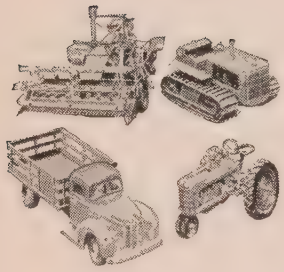

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Louis Dolivet Tells What Happens

When a French Cabinet Falls

AN HOUR-BY-HOUR REPORT
OF THE MEN AND THE MOTIVES
THE PLEAS, TEARS AND IDEALS
THAT CAUSED THE MARIE CABINET'S FAILURE

and assures no de Gaulle dictatorship

QUEUILLE: FOURTH PREMIER IN '48

Mr. Louis Dolivet, UN WORLD's International Editor, has rung up a remarkable record for accurate political prediction. Last year when virtually every newspaper in the world was saying that civil war in Italy was "inevitable," he declared that there would be none. (UNW November, 1947). Similarly this past spring when the world's press was envisioning the more or less immediate outbreak of war in Europe, he insisted that this would not occur (UNW May, 1948). While others contended that Tito's rift with the Kremlin was either a family quarrel, or an involved plot to acquire Western economic aid, he pointed out the finality of the break (UNW, July, 1948).

Against this background of forecasts validated by events, Mr. Dolivet now asserts, despite widespread views to the contrary, that neither De Gaulle nor the Communists in France can muster sufficient votes to enable them to establish an anti-parliamentary or extra-parliamentary regime. The only immediate prospect for France is now a continuation of government by coalition—as has been the case since the liberation.

In Paris throughout the crisis, Mr. Dolivet was for days in continuous contact with the key figures of the National Assembly and the Council of the Republic and ranking foreign office staff members—men who, amid the turmoil were simultaneously making arrangements for the UN General Assembly meeting. Mr. Dolivet obtained major policy statements (see pages 6 and 56) on France's attitude toward the UN from Vincent Auriol, President of the Republic, and André Marie, Prime Minister during the July-August tensions.

Mr. Dolivet is confident that, despite the difficulties faced by the French people, their devotion to democratic aims and methods will be vindicated by the triumph of both.

THE major political crisis of the Fourth Republic of France started on Friday, August 27, and did not end until Friday, September 10. It brought about the fall of the Cabinet presided over by André Marie, France's fourth Prime Minister since November 21, 1947, and resulted, after unsuccessful attempts by Ramadier and Schuman, in the formation of a cabinet by Henry Queuille.

This crisis, while tragically demonstrating the grave predicament of the French economy, also illustrated, in my opinion, the inner strength of the French democratic philosophy. Surely few of the world's legislatures, confronted with such grave economic realities, would not simply have surrendered authority to a dictatorship of the right or left. In France, de Gaulle, of course, is eagerly waiting to take over should Parliament fail. The Communists are eager to enter a coalition government.

But so strong is the sense of responsibility of the average French parliamentarian, so great the dignity of the government office, so powerful the tradition of parliamentarism, that the crisis, while it did shake the French regime, did not destroy it.

During the 14 hours, in which Prime Minister André Marie, President Vincent Auriol, and Socialist leader and elder statesman Leon Blum tried desperately to save the Cabinet, some of the episodes of parliamentary heroics reached almost the heights of a Greek drama.

In the beautiful early 18th century baroque cabinet chamber of the almost elysian palace of the President of the French Republic, some 20 men fought a political battle of a grandeur and unselfishness which is possible only in a democracy. From time to time through the doors behind which the cabinet was meeting, two or three members of the government would come out for a brief huddle in an attempt to find a compromise solution. Occasionally a member would come out alone holding his head in

French Cabinet *continued*

both hands, trying to summon once more all his arguments, all his moral and political influence, in order to avoid the resignation.

Throughout, André Marie—a very sick man—fought with the courage of a wounded soldier for the survival of his cabinet. He had once previously, on orders of his doctors, declined the honor offered to him by the President to form a government. His health had deteriorated so much during his weeks as Prime Minister that one of his closest associates, the Assistant Director of his Cabinet, had to sleep in the same room so as to be at hand to summon the doctor in case of an emergency.

There were moments when his colleagues thought that sheer physical collapse would force Marie to give up. And yet, pale but unswerving, he still tried to avoid the unavoidable.

President Auriol rose to the challenge of the crisis. Jettisoning the limitations attached to his high office, he pleaded with every member of the cabinet to work out a compromise solution. During those hours he ceased to be the highest official of his country; he became once more the simple citizen full of that humility which had made of him the leader of his country.

Elder statesman Leon Blum set standards of determination and loyalty to an ideal which few men can match. During his lifetime Blum has weathered not only the most severe attacks against his doctrine of democratic socialism but also against his person, his family, his very name. He had withstood the threats of the French Vichyites and the "justice" of the German Hitlerites. He held out with unfailing courage when deported to Germany. Now he, too, pleaded for a compromise with the power of his almost-legendary logic, with his customary beautiful phrasing equalled only by the oratory of Edouard Herriot, President of the National Assembly.

When all failed, Blum had tears in his eyes which he did not hide from his colleagues. He, who had not flinched before the Vichy judges and the Germans, let his tears flow freely and became simply an old man who had fought his whole life long for the philosophy of parliamentarism and who now saw it threatened in its very existence.

What was the nature of a controversy so strong as to make it impossible for men attached with their very lives to constitutional government to reach a compromise solution?

Was it intrigue by the Socialists—as many commentators hastily and irresponsibly alleged? Was it the desire of the financially conservative Paul Reynaud to re-impose prewar economic concepts on a French people definitely inclined toward a system of economic and social planning within the framework of political democracy?

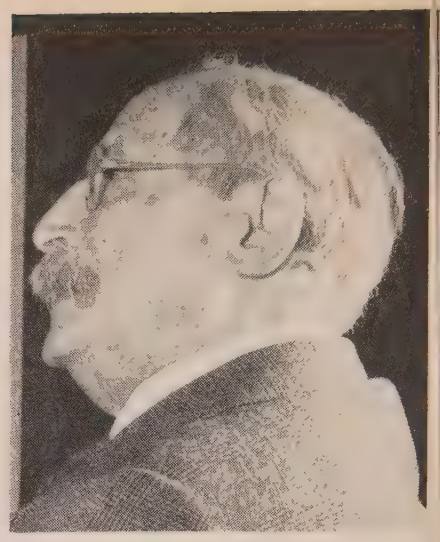
Or was it, as many unjustly implied, a final demonstration of the political incapacity of the present French leadership?

When historians appraise the story of the French crisis of 1948, they will —in the opinion of this writer—find that none of the above mentioned reasons was responsible.

They will find that the basic cause of the crisis lies in the past, that it began with the breakdown of the system of collective security in the early '30's—with the Japanese aggression against Manchuria, the Mussolini aggression against Ethiopia, the Axis-Franco aggression against Republican Spain, the Munich policy of appeasement—the failures which became the predominant factor in world politics.

They will find that the *immediate origin* of the crisis lies in the wounds inflicted upon France by four years of occupation, in the systematic destruction of its economy, in the drain of French finances by Hitler Germany which extorted every day for four years, 400 million francs from the people of France. They will find that the seriousness of the French crisis derives not from weakness of its people but from the fact of the East-West conflict without which France's troubles would not loom as great.

The conflict which divided the Cabinet centered around the so-called Reynaud plan. The Finance Minister of the Marie Cabinet, Paul Reynaud, had suggested drastic cuts in the budget, including a considerable compression of military expenses. M. Reynaud also asked for approval of



BLUM: HE LET HIS TEARS FLOW

an increase in the price of milk from 26 to 40 francs a liter and of bread from 24 to 35 francs a kilo. He explained that this increase in price on these two products was indispensable lest the government were to endanger its whole economy program by continuing substantial subsidies to the farmers.

He also suggested an increase of 30 per cent on train travel, 20 per cent on subway, 100 per cent on gasoline and electricity along with notable increases on coal. At the same time, taxes were to be increased on all incomes above 500,000 francs, as were postal rates and prices of tobacco and alcohol. The only "compensation" provided for the wage earner was a general increase of 1000 francs a month, a 12 per cent increase in family allowances and a 20 per cent tax reduction on low salaries.

The Socialist members of the Cabinet on the other hand, pointed out that milk, as a strictly rationed product, indispensable to the diet of children was, with the bread ration, about the only thing which even the poorest worker could obtain. To increase by roughly 50 per cent the price of these two products would mean to hit hardest the lowest income groups.

Prompted by the trade union federation Force Ouvrière, the Socialists could not submit. To do so would be to spur workers into flocking back to the communist-controlled CGT, General Confederation of Labor. That loss the Socialists could not afford to take.

From 11 a.m. until far into the night the Marie government fought

over this issue. The tragedy of the situation was that both sides had powerful arguments: Reynaud the danger of a runaway inflation; the Socialists, the danger of aggravating further the sufferings of the working class.

Around 11 in the evening the Socialists suggested that they might withdraw from the cabinet without withdrawing their support of the Prime Minister. But the latter would not accept—for he felt that responsibility had to be taken by all the center parties. Lesser men might have sacrificed their principles but the men of the French Cabinet decided to go back before parliament and let it, as the supreme representative of the French people, make the decision. And so the cabinet resigned at 1:15 a.m. in the morning of August 28.

Nothing was more dramatic to this writer than the sight of the members of the government departing from the Presidential palace. They were pale and tired. Their faces were grave. But they walked with heads held high.

Five minutes after the fall of the Cabinet, the President of the Republic had already begun consultation with various members of the government. This point is important if we are to understand the mechanisms of French political crises. When a Cabinet falls. France is not without a government. The Cabinet carries on until relieved by its successor. Hence no vacuum results. Thus while the Cabinet fell at 1:15 a.m., by 10 a.m. all of the members of the resigning government were at their desks, as was President Auriol who had not left his desk until 2:30 a.m.

The crisis lasted from August 27 to September 10 when a veteran parliamentarian of clean and courageous record, Henri Queuille, was named to form a new cabinet. The crisis was so protracted because the government as a whole, as well as parliament and the public, wanted to know where France was going—economically, politically, and financially.

While France is economically very sound, she is financially very sick. Production is strong but the franc is weak. Steel production, for example, is up from a monthly average of 518,000 long tons in 1938 to more than 598,000 long tons in 1948. Coal production is up from 3,963,598 tons in 1938 to 4,498,600 tons in 1948. Cattle now stand at 15 million head, only a

DE GAULLE: HE DEMANDS POWER

million below the 1938 figure. Wheat production is moving toward its prewar level. In 1948 the French fields will yield 70,447,000 quintals—approaching the 1930-39 average of 80,495,570.

In contrast to these heartening gains the gravity of the financial situation is shown by the fact that 877,411,000,000 francs in bank notes are in circulation with a gold coverage of only 65,234,000,000 francs. (In the US notes in circulation amount to $30,499,576,411 against gold reserves of $23,678,000,000.)

Where does the fault lie? It is to be found—aside from two devastating wars within 25 years and the cruelest occupation known in modern times—in the errors of the early De Gaulle cabinets which only took 10 billion

THOREZ: THE COMMUNIST LEADER

francs out of circulation.

Solutions offered to help France extricate herself from her paradoxical predicament, include:

- Middle-roaders suggest maintenance of present wage levels, modest reduction in government expenditures, greater freedom in economic transactions. Farmers approve, workers disapprove.
- Right-of-center groups (whose spokesman is Reynaud) demand quick stabilization of prices and wages, drastic economy in government including military cuts of almost 25 per cent.
- Socialists would fix prices for basic requirements of all groups, particularly workers.
- The de Gaullists, somewhat mystically, hold that once a strong man heads a central government, things will settle themselves.
- A compromise, fathered by Pierre Mendes-France, former Minister of Finance, who would mix socialist controls with measures to encourage private enterprise.
- The Communist solution: capital levy, further nationalization, organization of co-operatives, a progressive tax system on the basis of a wage level geared to rising prices.

However, none of these theories has been able to answer two fundamental problems which, if solved, could simplify all the others: 1. What means can any French government employ to force from hiding the hoarded gold and foreign assets estimated at between 6-8 billion dollars. 2. What can a government do to force farmers to bring their vitally needed products to an anemic market.

A partial solution, likely to be applied, is further cuts in the military budget. With traditional logic, many Frenchmen have concluded that only an actual western military alliance within the framework of the UN Charter can properly defend France from attack.

The political situation faithfully reflects the desperate financial plight of the nation. France today can be governed only by the three parties of the center: the MRP, the Radical Socialists and the Socialists. They cannot work with de Gaulle as long as he maintains his demands for a strong personal authority. They cannot work with the Communists, under East-West tension, so long as the latter are oriented primarily toward the Soviet

French Cabinet *continued*

Union. France, indeed, reflects the dilemma of the rest of the world in seeking to escape both extreme rightism and extreme leftism.

The de Gaullists, confident that turmoil strengthens their hand, are pushing for general elections now. For, once the effects of the abundant harvest, of the filled granaries, of the better coal supply are felt by the French people, the political situation will also tend to improve. This is the reason the majority in the French parliament has avoided all steps that would require national elections during a crisis.

No serious observer foresees a de Gaulle landslide. De Gaulle can muster mass strength only in elections in which he has the benefit of an anti-communist coalition such as he frequently enjoyed in the last municipal elections—where the aim was to get rid of a communist mayor or council.

De Gaulle strength is often overestimated. In most cases the General appears at rallies in his capacity as wartime chief of the French Resistance movement, as the liberator of the country, and not only as head of a post-war political movement. Curiosity about the hero—who undoubtedly upheld the honor of France during the Vichy period, who then symbolized everything France stands for—is so great that hundreds of thousands come out for his rallies (which are usually associated with the dedication of a war memorial).

But, when the time comes for national elections, de Gaulle's easy victories will not be repeated. Voters whose first allegiance has been to the MRP, the Radical Socialists and Socialists. will not vote for de Gaullist candidates except within a coalition. *That is* de Gaulle must win over the leaders of one or more of these parties —or fail.

What of the Communists?

Without a basic change in their line—and in that of the USSR—they will not win support from opponents of de Gaulle. They must nevertheless continue to focus their attack on de Gaulle, to isolate him as completely as possible and thus, of necessity, lend aid to the other anti-de Gaullist forces.

Finally, no political strength in France can be definitively evaluated as of the next general election—the date of which is one of the moot questions of French politics.

A basic reform of the electoral law, abandoning proportional representation, and thus weakening extreme right and left, is likely to be made—and could come within any three-to-six-months period under a stable government.

The de Gaullists could gain great strength—from 30 up to 45 per cent —in the Assembly, but not be able to form a stable government. Nor will they have enough popular support to change the present constitution. And, without a drastic modification of the present constitution, no extra-parliamentary regime, no government by decree, no rubber-stamp parliament and no Presidential Government is possible in France.

One thing is certain: De Gaulle, despite the penchant for violent action of the Vichyites and Cagoulards who flock to him, will not attempt a *coup d'état*. Even if he—or any one else—did make such an attempt, it would fail. For France has, and this is little appreciated, one of the most efficient democratic law enforcement systems in the world.

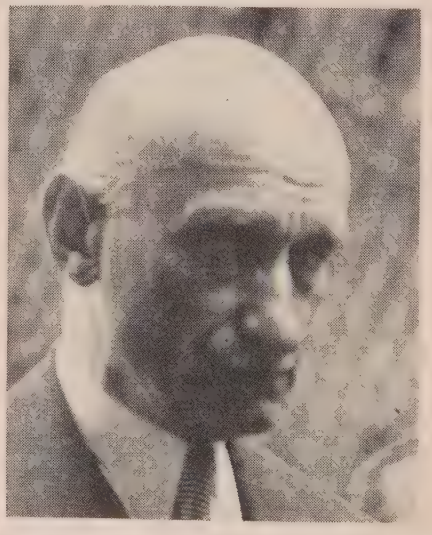
Interior Minister Jules Moch has developed fool-proof techniques of internal security. He has divided the country into regions and zones and delegated sufficient authority to translate into effective action France's national antipathy for dictatorship.

There will still be crises and conflicts and divisions in France. But the resourcefulness of the people will find solutions where outsiders would despair.

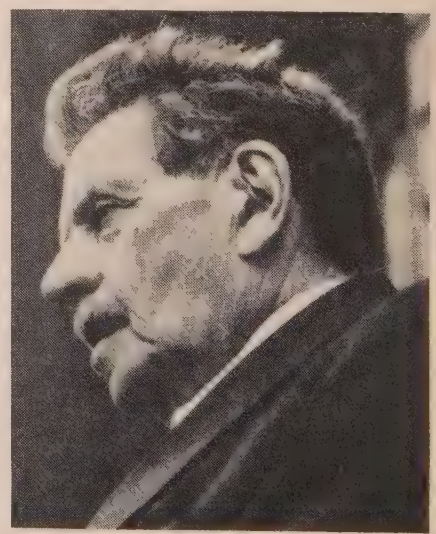
A reserve of powerful parliamentarians remains: There are the older men, led by Herriot, and many younger men of high caliber, like Moch, Mendes-France who will fill the ranks of the fighters for democracy.

The outside world can help France in this struggle in which she is still paying the price of being among the first in the path of the invader. It can help by a greater willingness to understand the vicissitudes of French politics. For these, far from being a denial of the democratic process are merely an expression of that process.

MOCH: DEPOSITORY OF SECURITY



SCHUMAN: LEADER OF MRP



HERRIOT: ELDER STATESMAN

A VETERAN OF THE LEAGUE'S 1922 MEETING
RECALLS THAT YEAR AND CONTRASTS IT WITH THIS

IT SEEMS THAT THE MEN WERE BIGGER THEN—
THERE IS NO DOUBT THE PROBLEMS ARE GREATER NOW

The Second Third Assembly

BY VERNON BARTLETT

British MP and distinguished diplomatic correspondent

SOMEONE at the bar in the Delegates' Lounge at Lake Success took leave of his colleagues. "See you at the Third Assembly," he said. His casual words evoked old memories. I saw again the League of Nations.

Instead of the magnificent circle of flags flying proudly above the lawn in front of the United Nations Headquarters, I recalled the flags outside the Geneva hotels—a demonstration less of international solidarity than of boastfulness on the part of the hoteliers about their distinguished guests.

I remembered again the ugly crowded Salle de la Reformation with its rows of unimpressive chairs and tables, the poor ventilation and its creaking wooden balconies.

I remembered the drab little hotel lounge which was converted for one month in the year into a delegates' bar and the drab little hotel entrance through which the delegates passed on their way to the Assembly Hall.

I remembered the little motor launches that brought us across the Lake for the Assembly meetings and the cafe terraces where we sat to discuss the exciting new world we proposed to make—and almost as an afterthought to drink our beer.

The Third Assembly. That was in September, 1922. In that excellent publication, the *Annual Register*, I find that the Third Assembly "was regarded as being of greater interest and more fruitful in results than either of its predecessors. It dealt with international questions of the very first order of political importance, and of extreme difficulty, and in every case its discussions were productive of progress."

Shall we be able to say as much of the Third General Assembly of the United Nations? Or has the quality of the delegates so deteriorated and the optimistic courage been so drained out of mankind?

The list of delegates to the League Assembly contains great names. Or is it only that distance gives them greatness? Have we today, in the service of the United Nations, men to compare with Nansen, with A. J. Balfour, with Robert Cecil, with Paul Hymans or with Hjalmar Branting?

DP'S WERE IN GREATER NUMBER—IF NOT DISTRESS—THAN NOW

The machinery for distributing information, the facilities for distinguished visitors or for journalists, these are so superior in Paris to those we knew in Geneva that the League Assembly in retrospect looks like a parish meeting. There were—to our great pride—16 American newspaper correspondents, and after long and difficult debate in the Finance Committee, the budget for the year was increased from a little over 22 million to 25,673,508 gold francs. The sum—a little over $4 millions—covered not only the League itself but also the International Labor Organization and the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Compared with the problems which face the world today, I suppose the "international questions of the very first order of political importance, and of extreme difficulty" would not weigh very much. True, that valiant and magnificent old man, Dr. Nansen, as High Commissioner for Refugees, was tackling a problem of displaced persons even graver than that which faces the world today. Not only were there 1,500,000 Russians who had become voluntary or involuntary exiles from their country, but the victories of Mustapha Kemal in Asia Minor, which were taking place while the Assembly was actually in session, were creating a Greek refugee problem far beyond the capacities of that unfortunate country alone.

Dr. Nansen, at a time when the Soviet government had practically no contact of any kind with the outside world, built up for himself so great a reputation that, while he was helping the Russian enemies of the new Soviet regime, he could also wander through Russia on his anti-famine work with a freedom accorded to no foreigner today.

At least in regard to this problem of the homeless, the League of Nations has achievement to its credit that which should make every delegate to the General Assembly ashamed of the fact that the United Nations International Refugee Organization

The Second Third Assembly *continued*

still cannot empty the DP camps in Germany and Austria.

But most of the problems which worried the Third Assembly of the League would seem petty today.

There was trouble between Poland and Lithuania, with the bristly-haired little Lithuanian Prime Minister, Sidikauskas, accusing the Poles of every kind of treachery.

There were all kinds of problems of national minorities for which the League had been made responsible (since the changes of frontiers after the First World War were far greater than those which have come as a result of the Second).

There was the situation in Georgia, where the behavior of the Bolsheviks was causing alarm and despondency; the Assembly instructed the League Council to watch that situation very carefully "so that it may be able to seize any opportunity which may occur to help in the restoration of this country to normal conditions."

Most important of all at that Third Assembly was the work undertaken for the financial reconstruction of Austria. Those of us who remember Monseigneur Seipel standing in clerical garb in the Committee Room in Geneva must feel all the greater bitterness over the situation in Austria today, the most unhappy victim of the rivalry between the great powers. "Thank God," said the Austrian Chancellor then, "we can say today the League of Nations has not failed us." As much could not be said of the United Nations by the present Chancellor of the Austrian Republic.

When one looks back across the years to that Third League Assembly one may easily develop an unhealthy and unnecessary cynicism about the Third Assembly of the United Nations. In 1922 the League had not yet come up against the great problems which have hindered the United Nations ever since the earliest meetings of its Security Council.

The United States, the Soviet Union, and Germany were not members of the League—the first because its government had failed to ratify the covenant; the other two because they had not been given any chance to become so. And that means, of course, that the League led a sheltered existence, protected from the grave problems and disputes, the conflicts between the great powers which found such shocking expression at the very first meetings of the Security Council in London.

Wise after the event, we can all realize today that the League had no hope of success since the United States was not a member of it, but with childlike faith we hoped, 25 years ago, that our success would overcome American suspicions. We did not then forsee that a faked incident on the South Manchurian Railway would enable the British Foreign Secretary and the American Secretary of State each to put upon the other the responsibility for inaction and, in the process of doing so, to deal the League the blow from which it died.

The Third General Assembly, then, starts off with one immense advantage over the Third Assembly of the League—the United States and the Soviet Union are among the countries represented at it. The fact implies the handicap of the veto, and the misuse of the veto is a formidable argument in the mouths of the cynics. But, with the United Nations as with the League, political disputes provide only a small proportion of items on the agenda.

BALANCE OF ADVANTAGES AND HANDICAPS

The League had the United States, the Soviet Union and other non-members states associated from its fairly early days with constructive social and humanitarian committees. But these countries were there rather by favor than by right; it is an immense advantage for the Department of Public Information that even those states whose disputes so lessen confidence in the Security Council should be full and active members of all the Technical Committees and most of the Specialized Agencies.

We all know that the United Nations will succeed or fail according to the degree of public support that it receives. In one respect I believe that the League had an advantage over the United Nations. President Wilson's pledge of "open covenants openly arrived at" still rang in our ears, and by the Third Assembly the evil system of secret meetings had not begun to develop.

AFTER WORLD WAR I

JAPANESE SOLDIERS IN MANCHURIA

Coddling of aggressors doomed the League, threatens the UN

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: The collective security principle of the Covenant (Article 10) provoked spirited debates, but failed when Japan (1931 and 1937), Italy (1935), and Germany (1936) mockingly left an impotent League, unwilling to invoke sanctions against proven aggressors. The Covenant itself died in 1939 when Soviet invasion of Finland, unhalted by League, was "punished" with meaningless expulsion of the Russian aggressor.

UNITED NATIONS: The Charter's provisions against aggression are explicit and firm, but the nations' collective will to deal with aggressors remains wanting. But UN, in the Security Council, has the permanent watchdog of peace the League never possessed; and in Article 51 a safeguard the Covenant woefully lacked. Several minor violations of international peace were checked—but aggressors still are free to swagger with relative impunity.

In the Salle de la Reformation or in the Committee Rooms that had once been the reception rooms of the Hotel National, rival delegates stated their points of view with a frankness that was thrilling. There was no lack of "good copy" in the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, in the Greco-Bulgarian dispute of 1925, in the Sino-Japanese dispute of 1931. The issues involved might seem to be smaller than those involved in the disputes brought to the Security Council by the Soviet Union. But one realized well enough that the happiness, and perhaps the existence, of hundreds and thousands of people in the Balkans or elsewhere were at stake.

But with all this open diplomacy, with all these public meetings, the League had one system which the United Nations has not seen fit to develop. It had its system of "rapporteurs." The rival delegates put forward their claims and their complaints in public. Other members of the Council would appoint a rapporteur who, perhaps with the help of two other colleagues, would have the task of reaching a compromise.

This was "secret diplomacy" if you like, but it was a hundred times preferable to the haggling over every comma in every draft resolution that goes on in the Security Council. No mediator can expect to succeed unless he can argue privately with the disputants, unless these disputants can be sure that every small concession each makes in the hope of winning a bigger concession from the other will not appear as a banner headline in the world's press.

I am a newspaper man. I want the maximum of publicity. I believe profoundly that no delegate is willing to defend a case he knows to be bad or dishonest if he has to do so in the presence of world public opinion, as represented by members of the press. But I hate to see the chances of agreement lessened, the possibilities of war increased, by the argument that even the dirtiest political linen must be washed in public.

People forget the extent to which war is also revolution. The men who fight are encouraged to do so by the thought that they will return to their own little world as they used to know it, or perhaps to that world with all the improvements of which they have dreamed. They do not realize how the destruction of moral and material values must produce a revolutionary situation after the shooting stops.

THE HOPE THAT SURVIVED A SECOND WORLD WAR

We have no right, three years after the worst war in history, to expect freedom from political and social disputes. We have no right, unless we are willing to betray the men and women who died, to lose courage because the Security Council meets with so many failures and frustrations. The Third Assembly, 26 years ago, was followed by other assemblies that were mean, disappointing and humiliating. It was followed by a second world war.

But history is a continuing process; its chapters follow each other in logical and inevitable sequence. I am one of those who believed in 1922 that, in a very small way, I was helping to write the history of how wars were ended and subsequently I lived through the bitterness of a still worse war.

I sometimes think, however, that I have an advantage over people who are younger and who are inspired by keener and fresher ideals. I have the advantage of knowing that the efforts we made a generation ago were not made entirely in vain and that the experiment and failure of the League of Nations gives to the United Nations its hope of success.

AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II

A SEGMENT OF 7,000,000 HOMELESS, STATELESS DP'S RESCUED BY THE UN

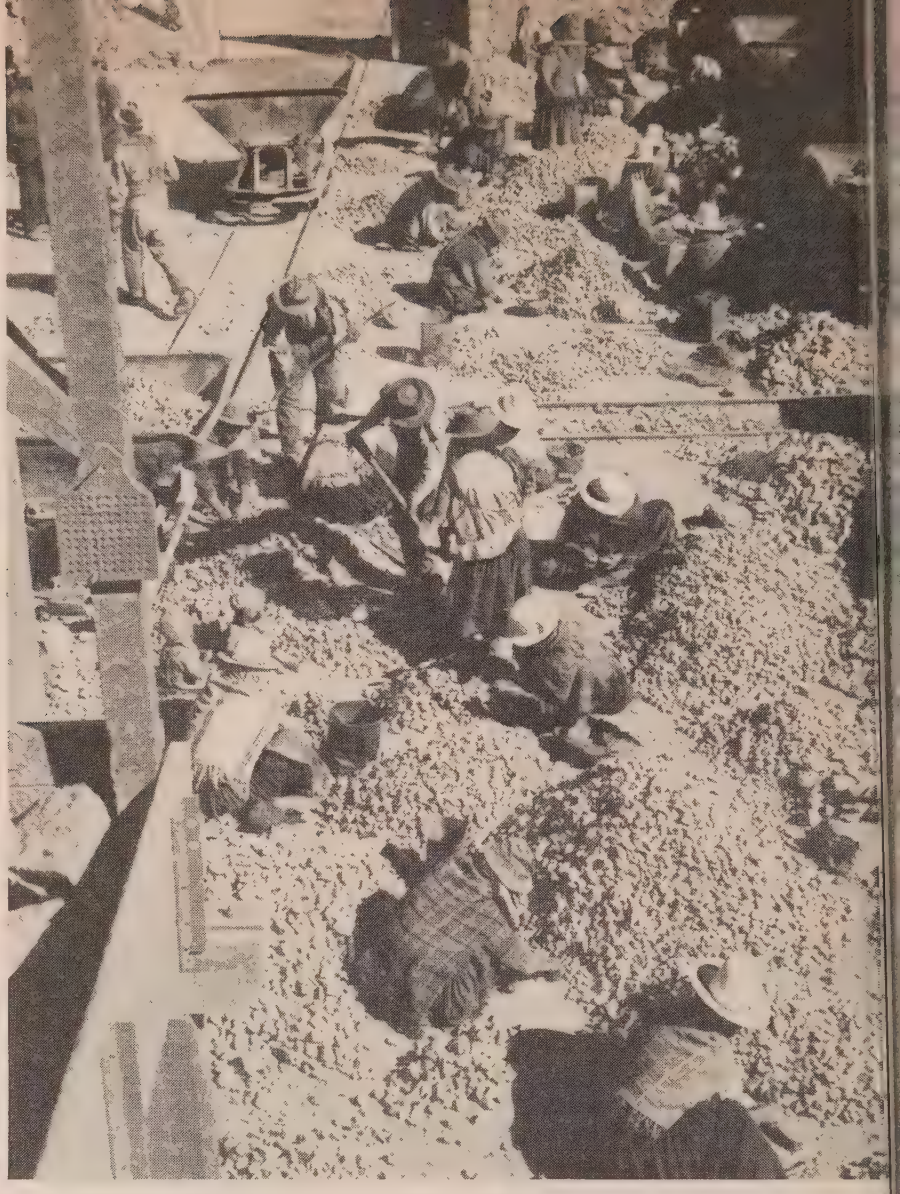
Nansen was a one-man miracle—IRO is a Roosevelt Memorial

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: For six years between 1921 and 1927, in four major conferences, the League discussed the problem of 3 million Russian, Armenian and Greek DP's left stranded in the wake of World War I. It gained nominal adherence of 51 nations to convention of July, '22, but left the discovery of definite solutions to Dr. Nansen. Thousands were still DP's when World War II created new problems for UN to tackle.

UNITED NATIONS: Roosevelt's concern for anticipated army of DP's preceded formal establishment of UN and resulted in creation in 1943 of a world-wide organization to aid, repatriate or resettle the homeless. Of World War II's 7 million DP's, all but 500,000 are, on the eve of Third Assembly, off international relief rolls. August, 1948, also saw formal establishment of International Refugee Organization to finish the task Dr. Nansen began.

BY WILLARD PRICE
Author of "Roving South: Rio Grande to Patagonia," to be published in November by The John Day Company.

A SHORT, BLUNT LESSON
IN HOW TO GET A HOUSEBOY—
OR A HANDMAIDEN
A FARMHAND OR MINE WORKER—
WHO DARES NOT QUIT
OR GRIPE ABOUT HIS WAGES



IN BOLIVIA—NOT PERU—INDIAN WOMEN SORT CRUSHED TIN ORE

Peru's traditional form of servitude

'I Call It Slavery'

IN THE UPLAND CITY of Arequipa, Peru, I watched a ragged Indian girl approach the "baby door" of the orphanage. She was perhaps 14 years old, and she carried a bundle. Glancing furtively up and down the street, she thrust the bundle into the opening, twirled the door, rang the bell and ran.

I went inside. A nun was just picking up the child.

She had not seen the girl, for there are no windows in this wall. The turnstile's purpose is to allow an unwed mother to dispose of her child without being seen. Back of this reception room, where a nun is always on duty, are 300 similar waifs. The nun removed the filthy mat from the baby's face. The child was considerably lighter than its mother.

"Who do you suppose was its father?" I asked.

"I only know what generally happens. A slave girl in a household is used by the young man of the house. His parents may even encourage him in this behavior on the ground that it gives him 'experience.' They don't worry about the 'experience' it gives the utterly defensive servant girl.

"When she bears a child they will not have it in the house, nor will they release her from her servitude so that she can rear it. She must either quietly snuff out its life, or bring it here."

"But aren't such girls protected by law?"

"Yes, very well protected. But the laws are not enforced."

■ A liberal Peruvian professor of sociology, active in the fight which good Peruvians are making for reform, told me more about the conditions of Indians in the Andes.

"It began in colonial times," he said, "and can hardly be stopped. The entire economy would have to be revised."

"Would you call it slavery, or just serfdom?"

"I call it slavery. Call it what you like, it is a system for depriving the Indian of all of his natural rights."

"How does it work?"

"In many different ways. In industry, the *enganche* system is used. *Enganche* means hooking. The *enganchador* or hooker visits the *chicherias* where the intoxicating chicha is sold. Indians frequent these bars. The hooker buys them drinks, then describes the delights of working in the mine he represents. He offers to advance money for passage to any who wish to go, and more money to have a good time on before going.

"Once at the mine, the Indian finds himself in debt and paid so little that he cannot get out of debt. Thereafter he is bound indefinitely.

"The system has always been used in the mine from Spanish times. More than half of the labor in the Chilean nitrate fields was recruited by this means. The Peruvian government, itself, used the method to secure colonists for the vast fertile hinterlands of Peru called Madre de Dios."

"But how are house slaves obtained?"

"Oh, the *pongos*. Such a slave is known as a pongo, and he is even addressed as 'Pongo.' His real name is forgotten. He is bought young from his parents. Most Indian families are so close to starvation that they can easily be persuaded to part with one or two children.

"To get a pongo, you have only to say to the conductor of one of the trains to the mountains:

" 'Please bring me down a boy.'

"A few days later a frightened Indian boy is brought to your door. Perhaps the conductor has paid his parents a sum that would amount to about $20 US. So you must pay the conductor that much and a little more to cover his trouble.

"That boy is now absolutely your property until he reaches 21. At that time the government will want him for the army. In the meantime you need pay him nothing. You give him any castoff rags and any corner to sleep in. You may feed him or starve him. You may work him as many hours a day as you please, and if he runs away the police will help get him back for you. If the servant is a girl, she is at the mercy of all the men of the house."

■ I learned, further, that if a child dies as a result of his experiences, or, to put it less euphemistically, is killed by his master, nothing happens. If there is a bullet wound or the gash of a knife, the master may be brought to court, but will almost certainly get off.

There is no capital punishment in Peru, and even for the murder of a "real person," not a slave, the sentence would be only a few years' imprisonment.

NOT ALL THE FAULT LIES IN PERU—NOR ON PERUVIANS

Forced servitude takes yet another form on the great estates where *yanacones* or serfs work without pay.

Their land was long ago taken from them and doled out to great landholders. The Indians were in some cases thrown out; in others, held as slaves.

The *yanacon*, the peon, is held by father-to-son debt; he cannot leave. The customary phrase of these serfs is, "I belong to So-and-So." The best they can hope is to be allowed a small plot of hillside for a garden.

In parts of Ecuador the serfs must work without pay every day in the week, and care for their own bit of land, if they have any, only at night. If they posses any animals desired by the master, he takes them.

Indians are drafted for public work in Ecuador without pay and often without food. They drop dead by the road on which they are working.

The American manager of a large American mining company did not share my indignation. He admitted that he had abandoned the *enganche* system, not because it was inhumane, but because it did not pay. Free men worked better than slaves, he had discovered.

And an Englishman said:

"I don't disapprove of the system. I don't see why the Indians shouldn't work instead of loaf. And you can't appeal to their reason. You can't treat a dog or horse or mule like a human being. And that's what they are—animals."

The Indian's best champions are among Spanish-blooded liberals. An Ecuadoran sociologist lashes at greedy landowners and politicians who profit by the present situations.

"To maintain in slavery a large portion of the population and systematically and chronically lower its moral state . . . is truly criminal."

Peru's treatment of the Indians is seen by Peruvian Moisés Saenz as "the slow brutal destruction of men."

The laws of the nation, itself, may be set aside by the *hacendado*. He is king in his own territory. One authority declares:

"The large estates are practically outside the powers of the nation, which does not concern itself in the slightest with the maintenance of the civil rights of the population dwelling within the property confines."

Civic conscience is none the less strong. There is plenty of excellent social legislation on the books. Debt slavery was done away with in 1918. Minimum wages, hours of work, child labor, are regulated by law. Peru was one of the first countries in America (1911) to pass accident compensation laws.

But, for various reasons, the laws are not enforced: employers claim they cannot afford to pay the minimum wage; the government lacks enough labor inspectors; workers are ignorant of the laws designed to protect them.

Hope for the future? Not great. Unstable governments have all they can do to hold themselves up, let alone build up their nations. A Bolivian president was hanged from a lamp post in 1946 and Ecuador was torn by revolution in 1947. In Peru there seemed some prospect that the avowed friend of the Indians, Haya de la Torre, might accomplish something when his party gained dominance in the government. It is now dominant, but with little visible result.

How Gandhi Became a Savior Of Souls—

See page 38

LONDON'S BROADCASTING HOUSE IN NOCTURNAL ACTION—HOME OF BBC AND SOURCE OF WHITE PROPAGANDA

British Propaganda

The Inside Story

WHETHER 'BLACK' OR 'WHITE,' ITS PRIMARY AIM IS TO WIN FRIENDS FOR BRITAIN

BY LADISLAS FARAGO
Author of 'Soviet Propaganda' in UNW September

In his book on Nazi Germany, Louis P. Lochner, for 13 years chief of the AP's Berlin bureau, listed a mysterious Gustav Siegfried among the *domestic* opponents of the Hitler regime—and a "most formidable" opponent at that. In reality, Gustav Siegfried (or "The Chief," as he referred to himself) was no German at all. He was Sefton Delmer, brilliant British newspaperman, broadcasting clandestine messages and profanities with adventurous gusto through his war-grown beard into a secret microphone "somewhere in Britain."

Millions of less well-informed steners throughout the world, fas-inated by The Chief's innuendo and evelations, shared Mr. Lochner's elusion. Even Heinrich Himmler nd Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz ntertained doubts about the *ver-luchte Hetzsender,* long after their adio experts reported that it was roadcasting from Britain, well be-ond reach of the Gestapo.

During the war, British propaganda esembled an iceberg of which only ne-seventh was visible above water. oday it is like an inverted iceberg —with only one-seventh under water.

SOMETIMES SUBVERSIVE— BUT NEVER REVOLUTIONARY

Unlike its Russian counterpart (see UNW, September), Britain's propa-ganda has little or no consistent ideological content or aim. In its offensive applications, it may seek to overthrow an occasional government grown obnoxious to His Majesty's own—but it has no overall revolu-tionary designs or purpose. It is pri-marily utilitarian and functional. It is institutional, devoted to the propaga-tion of faith in Britain, in her aims, designs, abilities, achievements and endurance—an endless campaign of "Buy British" in the diplomatic as well as in the commercial sphere.

Under normal circumstances, there is nothing improper or sinister in it. Certainly no one can object to such agencies as the British Information Services providing "authoritative in-formation about all things British."

The BIS fits the description of Propaganda Alternative No. 4, out-lined in 1943 by a London organi-zation called Political and Economic Planning (PEP), in a special survey devoted to the future of Britain's foreign publicity. BIS *is* an agency which "exists to give information *on request* on political, economic, and social subjects, taking no initiative but offering a service of factual infor-mation which will win acceptance by sheer usefulness."

There are, however, at least two additional alternatives listed in the same brochure which have little in common with this sleeping-beauty type of publicity. These are:

1. Political Warfare, which the PEP survey admirably defines as "full and uninhibited propaganda work, as in war, including not only the use of all overt means of commu-nication and persuasion, but such other activities as the concealed pur-chase of broadcasting stations and newspapers, the use of dummy news agencies, and the employment of other undercover methods."

2. Propaganda, described by PEP as "the attempt to influence opinion in overseas countries by the large-scale use of *overt but hard-hitting* methods, aiming at short term results."

These two "alternatives" were sum-marily rejected in the PEP recom-mendation—but they persist in post-war Britain, with an impressive organi-zation *maintained at wartime strength.* The whole vast machinery of British propaganda, both black and white, is used in the grave diplomatic clash between the West and the East. It is also used against Israel, including clandestine radio stations, newspaper plants, rumor spreaders, forged docu-ments—the whole dubious paraphe-rnalia of black propaganda.

In its subdued aggression, British propaganda is a new phenomenon in international relations, a novel assault in which highbrowed intellectuals re-place the mustached hussars of the light brigades. It is so much cheaper and so much more effective, though lacking the romantic flavor of Vic-torian imperialism.

Propaganda had no formal organi-zation until 1918, when Lord North-cliffe, of the penny press, was com-missioned to organize such an agency. Northcliffe relished the assignment, and performed it well. But his public-ity department was dissolved a few weeks after the Armistice. The British did not want a powerful propaganda machine closely tied to a whimsical man of boundless ambitions and little scruples. The Northcliffe machinery had to be "depersonalized," turned into an impassive aggregation of in-tellectual anonyms before it could become a permanent instrument of British national policy.

After the dissolution of the North-cliffe office, Britain confined its or-ganized "overseas publicity" to the British Library of Information in New York, and to press attachés at Embassies in Paris, Rome and Ber-lin. Both groups were supervised by the Foreign Office's musty, conserva-tive, taciturn News Department.

While the absence of an organization failed to mute British propaganda in the postwar period, it survived only in a haphazard and improvised form, motivated by old prejudices rather than topical needs, by private inter-ests rather than imperial aspirations. The absence of organization was matched by a lack of policy—even while organized Bolshevik, Fascist and, eventually, Nazi propaganda tried to project their own guilt to British scapegoats.

Such totalitarian provocation even-tually convinced Britain that the estab-lishment of a permanent counter organization was imperative. In 1934, a year after Hitler organized his Propaganda Ministry, the British Council was created in Britain.

Shortly afterwards, the Foreign Office News Department was enlarged. Overseas transmissions of BBC were inaugurated with broadcasts to Ger-many, Italy, France and the Middle East. In 1937, when the Middle East-ern beam was inaugurated, I happened to be in Lahej, near Aden, a guest of the Sultan, listening on his radio to the first Arabic-language trans-mission of BBC. The program was de-signed to counteract the increasing violence of Axis vituperations, but Britain's short-wave propagandists bobbled it badly. The first news item told of the execution of Arab insur-gents in Palestine—a bit of news hardly calculated to endear Britain to the people of the Middle East.

The clumsiness of this propaganda effort annoyed my pro-British host, the Sultan of Lahej. And he reacted in a very British manner, writing on the gold-embossed stationery of The Palace a strongly worded letter to the London *Times.*

'FULL AND UNINHIBITED'— OR 'BLACK' PROPAGANDA

The propaganda that grew out of these groping efforts became one of Britain's major offensive weapons in World War II. By 1944, Britain had 4,396 men and women on the "intel-lectual staffs" of its "public relations branches" employed in the UK alone, with additional thousands on duty abroad. The War Office and the Ad-miralty employed 645 specialists in psychological warfare, some of them working on *covert propaganda*—a field in which Britain gained mastery during the war and has maintained its lead.

This type of publicity is colloquial-ly called Black Propaganda—an epi-thet coined by its pioneers in Wo-burn Abbey, the Duke of Bedford's palatial country estate just 51 miles

British Propaganda *continued*

northwest of London. For the duration, this mansion, built in 1744 on the ruins of an ancient Cistercian abbey, resembled an improvised playhouse on a summer circuit. Writers, actors, stage directors, poets, composers, radio technicians, inventors and assorted geniuses made up the show, which was "Most Secret" (British equivalent for the US "Top Secret")—and properly so. Most of the propaganda emanating from Woburn Abbey was "full and uninhibited."

From here, The Chief thundered his profanities to an enchanted audience. From here, originated the world's most successful propaganda device—the *Atlantiksender*, a full-time radio station also known as *Soldatensender Calais*, purporting to beam its steady stream of talk and music eastward from somewhere on the German-occupied French coast.

The brain trust of Woburn Abbey was in Bush House in London—the Political Warfare Executive. It was composed of an interdepartmental board under the chairmanship of Brig. (now Maj. Gen.) R. A. D. Brooks, Royal Marines. Its operational arm was headed up by Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, author of *British Agent*, Sir Reginald Leeper, trouble-shooter of the Foreign Office and later Ambassador to Argentina, and others proficient in the art of persuasion.

In the US, PWE was represented by David Bowes-Lyon, the Queen's brilliant young brother; by John Wheeler-Bennett, author of the *Wooden Titan*, a historian of no mean ability and reputation; Geoffrey Gorer, the cultural anthropologist, and scores of others. Close and frictionless Anglo-American co-operation existed on this level, even though the pragmatic intellectuals on Bowes-Lyon's staff frequently despaired at the puritan propriety of America's propaganda effort.

In 1945, as in 1918, there was a sincere desire to do away with the two-edged weapon of political warfare. Shortly after the war, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin exclaimed: "The right way to deal with things is to deal with them and not carry on propaganda and wars of nerves . . . We believe that when a war of nerves starts, the Security Council should step in and investigate and not wait until aggression starts."

By early 1946, however, Bevin had become the most ardent advocate of continuity in British political warfare, *both black and white*, in the contest which Bernard Baruch dubbed the "cold war."

The Foreign Office dominates most of today's overseas propaganda, but policy is made on the ministerial level by a confidential Cabinet Committee on Information, headed by Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council. He comes closest to a "Propaganda Minister" in Britain.

With Morrison on the Committee are representatives of the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Ministry of Commonwealth Relations, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of Defense, and occasionally others.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S TEN DEPARTMENTS

Domestic "propaganda" is the charge of the Central Office of Information (COI), a well-endowed agency producing an endless stream of publicity. The Opposition is unanimous in condemning COI as "an insiduous propaganda bureau solely designed to perpetuate the Labor Party in power." The fact that it was established on April 1, 1946, is seized upon by Conservatives to call it "that April fool institution." When it became known that it had acquired accommodations in Baker Street, a Tory M.P. jumped up to ask: "Do the premises occupied by the Central Office of Information include N 223B-Baker Street, once occupied Mr. Sherlock Holmes?"

LORD PRESIDENT MORRISON

The COI employs a staff of 1,94 as compared with the 2,719 on t staff of its predecessor, the Minist of Information, in 1944. Howeve 44 per cent of the work of tho presently employed is for overse purposes.

It is, indeed, in foreign rath than domestic publicity that Brita now leads all other countries. T British propaganda apparatus a complex and often puzzling stru ture; with duplicated functions overlapping organizations; ofte working at cross purposes; snarle by interdepartmental jealousies an parliamentary bickerings; inhibite by the strict economies of Sir Sta ford Cripps; suffering from all th limitations a democracy imposes o governmental apparatus. And yet, th very volume of the organization, th millions spent on it in the midst c shortages and austerity, and the se crecy in which some of its activitie are shrouded, inevitably generat suspicion and distrust—in Britain a well as abroad.

This suspicion focuses on the For eign Office. Even two years ago, i had but two departments devoted t publicity. Today it has ten — no merely "desks" but full-fledged pro paganda divisions, including:

1. *The Information Policy De partment*, headed by the supreme boss of Britain's overseas propa ganda, Alan Alvis Dudley, a young diplomat who was in charge of th New York office of BIS in the early years of the war.

2. The *American Department* headed by Mrs. M. A. Hamilton who presides over 12 employees, includ ing a particular Miss O. Shaw whose duty it is to brief lecturers coming to the U. S.

3. The *Eastern European Depart ment*, headed by H. C. Bowen.

4. The *Far Eastern Department* headed by F. R. H. Murray.

5. The *Latin American Depart ment*, a small branch, headed by C R. Bock.

6. The *Middle Eastern Depart ment*, directed by a major general A. J. C. Pollock.

7. The *Western European Depart ment*, under S. H. C. Woolrych.

8. The *German [Education] De partment*, under the general super vision of Sir Ivone A. Kirkpatrick

9. The old *News Department*, headed by William Ridsdale and Norman E. K. Nash.

10. The *Cultural Relations Department*, headed by W. H. Montagu-Pollock.

On January 31, 1948, a census of the Foreign Office revealed that its propaganda agencies employed a staff of 2,323 men and women in the UK, and abroad in embassies, consulates and information offices, as compared with the 10 men and women employed by that ministry in a similar capacity just four years ago. In addition, the Foreign Office maintains the Far Eastern Broadcasting Service in Singapore, with a British staff of 70, broadcasting for 7½ hours daily to S. E. Asia.

The Foreign Office, too, exercises dominant control over the two major non-governmental propaganda agencies, the British Broadcasting Corp. and the British Council — though both maintain the fiction of independence.

BBC is incorporated under a Royal Charter that came into force on January 1, 1947, and expires on December 31, 1951. It receives an annual grant-in-aid from Parliament, in return for which it maintains:

- The European Service, broadcasting on long, medium and specially beamed short-waves, for over 40 hours a day.
- The Overseas Service, broadcasting on short wave for 68 hours a day "to audiences throughout the world," in 43 languages which include Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Japanese, Kuoyu, Portuguese, and Marathi.

Despite protestations of its total independence, BBC is obliged to follow the directives of the Foreign Office. Such "liaison" is specified in the License and Agreement under which BBC operates and maintained by Section 1 of the Information Policy Department, under J. O. Rennie —a co-operation described as "most satisfactory" by Mr. Bevin himself.

The other non-governmental propaganda agency, the British Council, equally enjoys Mr. Bevin's confidence. Its aims and objects, according to Mr. Bevin, are "the promotion of a wider knowledge of the United Kingdom and of the English language abroad and the development of closer cultural relations between the UK and other countries for the purpose of benefiting the British Commonwealth of Nations."

THE HON. DAVID BOWES-LYON

SIR ROBERT H. BRUCE LOCKHART

The British Council of today little resembles what it was under the late Lord Lloyd, its long-time president and a die-hard Tory. Typical of the Lloyd regime was a secret agreement with the Franco Government of Spain, stipulating that "the staffs of British institutes in Spain must be of the Roman Catholic faith." When the Labor Government learned of this secret treaty, it instructed the Council to cancel the agreement.

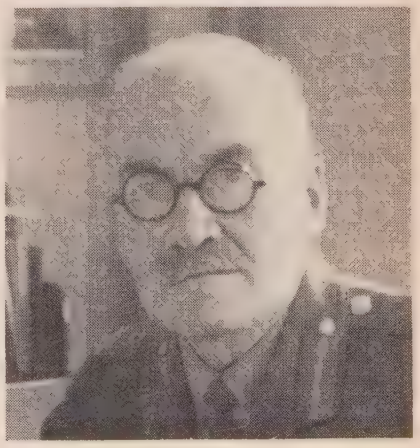
Today, under the chairmanship of General Sir Ronald Adam, the British Council is a unique instrument of international co-operation. Devoted to the popularization of the best in English civilization, its "propaganda" is both regional and functional. It extends to virtually every corner of the earth, and embraces all forms of communication.

In recent months, it arranged for a visit of Sir Laurence Olivier and the Old Vic Company to New Zealand; for a lecture on penicillin by Sir Alexander Fleming in Austria; for a talk on town planning by Thomas Sharp in Bulgaria; for a visit of the Boyd Neel Orchestra to the distant Australian mining center of Broken Hill. In civil war-torn Greece, lecturers of the Council discuss contemporary English literary subjects; in Hungary, plant breeding; in Portugal, tropical medicine; in Poland, social services.

In fact, the secret of the strength of the British Council's propaganda is its deliberate repudiation of political propaganda. In its 1948 report, a parliamentary Committee on Estimates endorsed the Council's work in these significant words: "... There are the greatest possible advantages to be obtained under the present system whereby the work is done by a body corporate and not by a Government department. Where a diplomatic mission is accredited to a foreign government there are inevitably periods of strained relations between the two. A body like the British Council is unaffected by these and their work can proceed unimpaired and without interruption."

DIPLOMAT ALAN ALVIS DUDLEY

LT. GEN. SIR RONALD ADAM



British Propaganda *continued*

The validity of these observations may best be illustrated by the Council's activities in Czechoslovakia, as recorded in its 1947-48 report. In this Communist-dominated country, the Council maintained three Institutes, with 396 registered students and nearly 2,000 active members. It co-operated with the Czechoslovak universities in the selection of 200 students for courses in Britain; it subsidized a chair of English in Olomouc University; it arranged for the appearance of the Sadler's Well Ballet in Prague, and promoted concerts of prominent British musicians; it organized the tour of a children's art exhibition and 443 showings of British medical films; it promoted the popular Czechoslovak - British Medical Society, and many more cultural activities.

The scope of the Council's activities is indicated in the fact that it maintains 125 agencies in 42 countries, with a total of 97,349 students and members. In the UK alone, it employs a staff of 1,271, with offices scattered in nine London blocks. Additional hundreds are employed in the dominions and all the colonies; in all European countries except Russia, Rumania, Albania, Iceland, and Switzerland; in Ethiopia and the Sudan; in the Middle East from Turkey to Iran and the Persian Gulf; in Burma, China, and Indonesia; as well as in 10 Latin American republics. The influence of the Council is far greater than the statistics indicate. The majority of those it reaches are themselves teachers who convey the ideas and knowledge gained in the Institutes to their own pupils.

Thus, Council Representative R. G. C. McNab reported from Hungary: "Summer and winter schools held under the joint auspices of the Hungarian Ministry of Education and the Council each were attended by approximately 70 teachers of English."

Representative F. J. R. Bottrall reported from Italy: ". . . Closer collaboration with teachers, educationists, and social workers. A summer school for 60 teachers was held at Ovindoli with the co-operation of the Ministry of Public Instruction."

Representative Lynda Grier, from China: "The Universities at Shanghai and Hangchow were visited by the Representative, who also lectured at the Chinan and Chekiang Universities and at schools and colleges."

The Council, for all its accent on cultural activities, nevertheless follows the Foreign Office to areas of political tension. At the close of the war, only two Council staffers were stationed in Mexico, but 14 were in Ethiopia, 71 in Argentina and no fewer than 470 in the Middle East. In Egypt alone, the Council maintained 148 employees at a cost of $389,876—while spending $720 on "safe" Transjordan. (Expenditures of the Foreign Office and Board of Trade also reflect this evaluation of Egypt. Their combined expenditures in 1946, plus those of the British Council totaled $33,085,568 there—$2,352,000 on "diplomacy," $685,368 on "culture," and the rest on "trade promotion.")

NEARLY 60 MILLIONS FOR PERSUASION

In the United States, the Foreign Office maintains the British Information Services in New York, Washington, Chicago and San Francisco; the Embassy Information Office in Washington; and information offices at consulates in Seattle, Boston, Detroit, Houston and Los Angeles. The "publicists" employed in the US exceed 300, and its American organization cost Britain $1,440,244 in 1947.

Governmental appropriations for propaganda reflect the magnitude and significance of the British effort. But there is more—unreflected. Unvouchered funds from such incidental revenues as profits from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and other sources, are spent on propaganda.

That total is nearly twice the amount the US Congress provides for similar purposes.

Even without these unvouchered funds, the overt appropriations for the fiscal year of 1947-48 added up to the following sums:

Central Office of Information	$16,536,000
Foreign Office (for "Public Information Services")	$ 8,520,000
BBC Overseas Service ("Grant-in-Aid")	$18,000,000
British Council	$14,000,000
TOTAL	$57,056,000

This, then, is the picture of Briti propaganda. To one of its own pra titioners, disheartened by palace pc itics and red tape, this survey ma seem too optimistic—he may eve disagree with my high respect fo the quality of the new, *permanen* British "publicity network." Bu British propaganda gains and grow in the fire of its critics, at home an abroad, not all of whom agree wit Sir Osbert Sitwell that "anythin which is worth doing is worth doin badly."

The story of British contribution is important enough to be told a efficiently and convincingly as BIS i doing it today. However, man British, and non-British, politica analysts view with some alarm th skill Britain has acquired in politica warfare. They are concerned lest i be turned to the ends of power politics

It is easy to understand tha once having acquired such a unique craft, Britain will not lightly re nounce or abandon it. And it is un pleasant to contemplate to what use irresponsible hands might turn this sharp skill, either as a sporting feat of power diplomacy or in an hour of political despair, if allowed unbridled control of the machinery.

Like the Americans who control the atomic bomb, Britons possess in political warfare a major weapon which only they understand fully how to employ. Only when they are wholly conscious of its potentialities will they be able to temper its influence with that overriding responsibility which, in the words of J. G. Holland, walks hand in hand with capacity and power.

The danger is tempered by the political traditions and the historical decency of the British. A supreme guarantee would be conversion of British propaganda into an instrument for the promotion of the United Nations. A first step was made when COI sponsored hundreds of Britain-wide lectures on the UN—an activity regrettably abandoned in recent months (as revealed by Capt. Francis Noel-Baker—Editor, UNW-British—in the House of Commons).

The UN could provide inspiration for British propaganda, just as it would gain by it. And the world could be saved a vicious propaganda race which, in the opinon of Secretary Bevin, is as detrimental to international peace and co-operation as an armament race.

BY GERALD WINFIELD, M.D.
Author of "China: The Land and the People," to be published in November by William Sloane Associates

China's health is a world problem—toward the solution of which UN has spent only some $75,000. Inheritor of UNRRA's program and assets, the World Health Organization is providing (1) medical literature to restore war-ruined college libraries; (2) fellowships—more than 50 doctors and nurses trained abroad under WHO auspices last year; (3) technical assistance in control and prevention of disease. In this article, Dr. Winfield suggests the magnitude of the problem of parasitic diseases in China.

Death in China

CHINA'S ancient civilization, her veneration of the aged, the pictures one sees of wrinkled faces all suggest that China is a country of the old, as distinguished from the brash youthfulness of America. The contrary is true. Americans are people who live into a vigorous old age. China is a country where disease and death lay hands on the young—beginning at the very birth.

Statistics confirm this: More than 30 per cent of deaths in the United States are caused by heart failure; second, with 12.6 per cent, is cancer; followed by diseases of the nervous system and nephritis. These are diseases of age. In China 60 to 70 per cent of deaths are from preventable infections.

China's greatest killer is a group of diseases spread through human wastes; the fecal-borne ailments cause one quarter of all the deaths.

Second comes tuberculosis; third the usual diseases communicable from one person to another. In spite of the fact that the Chinese were the first to practice vaccination, smallpox kills tens of thousands a year.

Next in order are the diseases associated with childbirth, *tetanus neonatorum* and childbirth fever. Almost every day in the modern hospitals of China pregnant mothers give histories of from 5 to 12, or, even, 15 pregnancies, from which they have only one or two children living and frequently none at all.

Many of these children died in tetanic convulsions after their umbilicus cords had been dressed with rags—if not road dust. Tetanus is so common among infants the Chinese call it the "nine-day disease."

It comes as tetanus in the raw umbilicus

of the newborn . . .

as childbirth fever to their

unaseptic mothers . . .

as smallpox, tuberculosis and the other

directly transmitted plagues

A CHINESE RICE FARMER PLOWS HIS BLOOD FLUKE INFESTED PADDY

MOST CRUELLY IT BATTENS ON THE HUNGRY MILLIONS WHOSE UNTREATED FECES FERTILIZE THEIR FIELDS AND SO KEEP DEATH ALIVE AND FLOURISHING IN THE FORM OF PARASITIC WORMS

Death in China *continued*

Fifth in importance are the insect-borne diseases—malaria, typhus, bubonic plague, and relapsing fever. Then come the pneumonias and other respiratory infections. Venereal diseases are also prevalent.

Through the fecal-borne diseases, nature seems to be trying to maintain a cruel equilibrium between the Chinese and their environment. About 1500 persons live on every square mile of cultivated land. The Chinese people are 80 per cent agricultural. In this overpopulated, poverty-stricken countryside, the importance of this group of diseases can be measured by the following fact: China was at war for eight years—a cruel, bloody war, in which many of her crowded defenseless cities were bombed repeatedly, in which millions of ill-equipped soldiers were slaughtered in battle. Between 5 and 10 million Chinese died as a direct result of the war. Yet, during the same period of time, from 30 to 35 million Chinese died of fecal-borne diseases.

The pattern of relationships that makes these diseases so deadly penetrates the entire web of agricultural and physical life in China. Among this group are four diseases caused by parasitic worms that may be called occupational diseases of the Chinese farmer. They are occupational because their transmission is dependent on specific practices carried out in the production of definite crops. They can be controlled only when the cycle of relationships is broken by modifications of present agricultural practices.

THE HOOKWORM, A BLOODSUCKER THAT DIGESTS NO BLOOD

The first of the four occupational diseases of the Chinese farmer is caused by two species of hookworms that live in the small intestine. They attach themselves to the walls of their hosts' intestines, and, with special stylets, cause blood to flow into their mouths. They are voracious feeders, pumping fresh blood from their hosts through their own intestines and absorbing already dissolved food and oxygen without digesting the blood. Each worm drains about one cubic centimeter of blood from its host each day, and if several hundred worms are present—as happens—they will rob him of about half a pint of blood daily, and soon kill him. And, for every one that dies there are dozens of people who continue to live with lowered energy.

Hookworm disease is prevalent and serious in the silk-growing culture of the lower Yangtze Valley and in the interrowed cultivation of corn and sweet potatoes in the hills of Szechuan. In the mulberry-hookworm areas, farmers grow whole fields of small mulberry trees which are kept cut back to force new shoots and an abundance of large leaves near the ground.

In the early spring the trees are heavily fertilized with dilute night soil that contains large numbers of hookworm eggs. In the fertilization process a hookworm culture is made at the base of each tree. In a few weeks, when the women and girls come to gather leaves from the trees, the ground is swarming with microscopic infective larvae.

There is ample opportunity for the tiny worms to penetrate the skin of the bare or sandal-clad feet until huge, frequently lethal, infestations are built up.

In the hills of Szechuan there is another infective hookworm cycle completed in the beds where sweet potato shoots are grown with night soil fertilizer in preparation for transplanting to the interrows of corn fields. The workers who must handle sweet potato vines get a severe exposure to infective larvae as they open the previously fertilized soil between the young corn plants to set the potato slips. The ground-itch of the hands caused by the penetration of hookworm larvae frequently becomes so intense that the transplanting process has to stop for a few hours to permit the symptoms to subside.

Heavy hookworm disease is almost entirely confined to these two major types of situation where its occurence is integrally connected with the handling of specific important crops.

HEAD AND SHOULDERS protected from the strong sun by broad-brimmed hats, but hands and feet vulnerable to larvae in the water, these Chinese peasants inch along on small benches as they prepare rice shoots for transplanting from the culture beds.

THE LIVER FLUKE HAS THREE HOSTS

The Chinese farmer's second occupational disease, caused by the liver fluke, is not as widespread as hookworm disease. Its existence depends on the methods used to grow fish in artificial ponds and on the eating of special raw fish dishes much prized in Kwangtung province. The liver fluke disease is caused by an oblong leaf-shaped flatworm about half an inch long and a quarter of an inch wide, named *Clanorchis sinensis*.

The life cycle of this fluke is complicated by the use of three different

hosts. The adult worm is found in the bile duct of the livers of men, cats, and dogs. There each worm lays large numbers of tiny eggs containing fully formed larvae.

After passing from the host, an egg does not hatch unless it is eaten by a specific type of snail. When eaten by the proper snail, the egg hatches and the small larva proceeds to bore its way through the snail until it reaches the liver. Here it elongates into a sac-like organism that reproduces many more sacs like itself. Each of these secondary sacs then forms a new type of larva with a miniature body similar to that of the adult worm and a long tail used for swimming.

Six weeks after the snail eats the fluke egg, anywhere from a few dozen to several hundred tail-bearing larvae begin to escape from it each day and swim about seeking contact with a fish. When they do make that contact, they penetrate the flesh of the fish and round up to form a sturdy cyst that protects them while they await the eating of the fish by a man, cat, or dog.

If the fish is cooked, the career of the larva ends; but if the fish is eaten raw, or only partly cooked, the larvae are digested out and proceed to crawl up through the bile duct to the host's liver. If they are present in sufficiently large numbers they cause severe damage to the liver which can result in the death of the host.

Fortunately, human liver-fluke disease is confined to a relatively small area in Kwangtung province where the much prized "big-headed fish" is served in a raw fish salad. The rest of China eats only cooked fish. These Kwangtung delicacies, heavily infected with fluke cysts, are raised in shallow, artificial ponds that are fertilized by the family privy which is placed over one corner. Infection is largely limited to the fish growing farmers and the wealthy city people for whom the fish are cultivated.

THE FLUKE OF CHEKIANG GROWS ON WATER CHESTNUTS

The third occupational disease of the Chinese farmer is found in the northern part of Chekiang province south of Hangchow. It is caused by a type of fluke which infects the intestine. This worm, known scientifically as *Fasciolopsis buski*, grows to a maximum length of two and a half to three inches and a breadth of more than half an inch. It causes illness both by robbing the host of food and by the effects of a strong toxin it secretes. A few dozen worms can cause definite symptoms, and several hundred produce a disease that is frequently fatal.

Add to the worm diseases—

the amoebic and bacillary dysenteries

the typhoid and paratyphoid fevers

the dreaded Asiatic cholera—

and Canton begins to resemble

the New York of 60 years ago

The life cycle of this parasite is completed in the shallow pools where water chestnuts are grown. The eggs require two weeks of development in water that fluctuates in temperature before they hatch. The larva that comes from the egg penetrates a species of small snail that is abundant in the water chestnut fields. In due course large numbers of tail-bearing larvae are produced in the liver of the snail and escape to encyst on the outer skin of the chestnuts. When the chestnuts are eaten raw the cysts are transferred to the mouth, swallowed, and deposited in the intestine where the adult fluke grows.

THE JAPANESE BLOOD FLUKE INFECTS 10,000,000

The fourth occupational disease of the Chinese farmer is the most widespread and important. This disease, too, is caused by a fluke, *Schistosoma Japonicum*, commonly known as the Japanese blood fluke. It is widely distributed throughout the lower Yangtze valley from Ichang to the sea, an area with a population of about 100 million. It is estimated that 10 per cent, or 10 million people, are infected by this parasite.

The injury to its host caused by the Japanese blood fluke is severe and irreparable. The adult worms, living in the veins of the liver and digestive tract, lay their eggs in the wall of the small intestine. In order to reach the outside the eggs must cause the intestinal wall to ulcerate so that they are sloughed off into the intestine and passed out. In the flow of blood many eggs are swept into the liver where they cause serious damage. Over a period of years the digestive function slowly deteriorates and the host dies from starvation even while getting enough to eat.

The blood fluke, too, must pass a period of development in an appropriate species of snail. In this case, the snails live in the culture beds in which young rice plants are grown. The culture beds are heavily fertilized with night soil containing fluke eggs when the seed are planted. By the time the young plants are ready to be transplanted to the fields, the infective larvae are already emerging from the snail. They swim in the water and penetrate directly into the skin of the final host.

All four of these occupational diseases of the Chinese farmer—hookworm, liver fluke, intestinal fluke, and blood fluke—depend on specific farming practices in which human excrement is used as a part of an age-old agricultural system. The means by which the Chinese farmer has been able to feed the mouths of China's huge population has also resulted in the development and maintenance of these important diseases. The common intestinal round worm, *Ascaris lubricoides*, that is found in many parts of the world and is common in China, clearly illustrates other aspects of the problem of the fecal-borne diseases.

By means of an egg-counting technique, it is possible to determine not only who have ascarids, but roughly how many worms they harbor. In Szechnan, in the lower Yangtze valley, and in the area around Canton, 98 per cent of the country people were infected with an average of 35 worms per person, while city folk

Death in China *continued*

had an infection rate of more than 50 per cent with about 10 worms each.

Why are these worms found in such numbers? The chief answer is that the household environment is so regularly polluted by children that most of the population is in more or less constant contact with soil in which infective eggs can be found.

Most children under five or six years of age wear split pants made so no adult help is needed for the toilet. As a result they keep the environment seeded with ascarid eggs. The worm is most common in children, for, of all age groups, theirs has the closest and most continuous contact with the soil.

Insanitary latrines are another source from which ascarid eggs are spread. Finally, the constant and widespread use of night soil as fertilizer causes a wide distribution of eggs outside the home.

Fortunately, infection with ascaris usually is not fatal; in most cases the worms do no measurable damage to their hosts. The facts about ascaris in China have been cited in order to emphasize the extremely poor environmental sanitary conditions that exist over and above the specialized conditions producing the occupational diseases of the Chinese farmer. Such lack of sanitation opens the way, not only for the worm parasites, but for the much more deadly protozoa and bacteria-caused fecal-borne diseases.

First there are the dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary. Amoebic dysentery is caused by a parasitic amoeba, the infective stage of which is a cyst. Able to survive for some days outside the human body, the cyst infects a new host when it is eaten with food or swallowed with contaminated water. In the intestine, the cyst breaks open and four small amoeba emerge ready to multiply and attack and ulcerate the intestinal wall. The ulceration leads to dysentery. In some cases the amoeba enter the blood stream and are carried to the liver, where they cause liver abscess.

In China, infection by dysentery amoeba is more common in the north than in the south. Southerners eat cooked rice with chopsticks while it is still hot, while northerners eat cold, fly contaminated breads, often with dirty hands.

Bacillary dysentery is more common, more widespread, and the cause of more deaths than any other of the fecal-borne diseases. It is caused by a bacillus that is transmitted from person to person in contaminated food and water and by direct contact. Since it confers little or no immunity, a person can have it repeatedly. Although it is universally virulent, children are particularly susceptible. The same general conditions of poverty, ignorance, and lack of sanitation that make ascaris so common contribute materially to the prevalence of this deadly disease among the Chinese.

Typhoid fever and the paratyphoids, A and B, next to bacillary dysentery, the most deadly of the whole group, are fostered by the same conditions that permit bacillary dysentery.

Asiatic cholera is the last of the deadly, bacterial, fecal-borne diseases. The organism finds its way into the human mouth through flies, fingers, food, and water, just as do bacillary dysentery and typhoid fever. It strikes the individual with great suddenness, frequently causing death within a few hours after the first sign of illness. If given prompt treatment, principally by continuous intravenous injection of saline solution, a high percentage of those attacked can be saved. Without treatment deaths may run higher than 50 per cent.

Although to-day only India can approach China's poor health record, it is important to remember that healthy populations living in clean environments with low death rates are comparatively new in the history of the world.

London constructed her first sewer not much more than a hundred years ago. Death rates in New England during the time of the American Revolution were comparable to those in China to-day, and the death rates and causes of death in New York City in 1890 were almost identical with those of Peiking in 1934 and 1935.

China's health is what it is because of a complex of factors that penetrate the whole social and economic fabric of the nation. Control of fecal-borne diseases and other preventable causes of illness and death, will require the complete reshaping of the whole life of China. The successful carrying out of this program constitutes one of the foremost challanges to be met in building a better world for the human family.

TO THE MAN, the white jacketed woman, the child in her shadow, the pattern of the fields below them means food and life. But the techniques they must use to cultivate the terraced rice paddies mean, also, that death will inevitably flourish among them.

A FIRST-HAND REPORT ON NATIONALISM
IN FOUR MOSCOW-ORIENTED STATES

Russia's Converts

Question the Faith

BY LEO LANIA
UNW's Eastern European Editor

HAVE YOU noticed how fast we are rebuilding the city? Two months ago it was decided to erect the biggest and most beautiful building in Warsaw as headquarters for the United Socialist and Communist Parties—and today already the right wing is finished."

The point of this joke is not peculiar to Warsaw. It suggests the political climate in the capitals of the seven "popular democracies" in Europe's Soviet sphere. The political joke is at the same time an outcry of the oppressed, protest of the dissatisfied and a substitute for political action against the regime in power.

An elderly university professor who, as a friend of Masaryk and Benes, played a prominent part in the struggle for Czech independence and distinguished himself as an underground fighter against the Nazis, said to me:

"The West blames us for not having shown greater resistance against the coup d'état of the Communists.

"Over there you don't realize how painful and permanent the scars are which the Nazi occupation burned into our soul. We have learned the futility of any opposition against a totalitarian regime that controls not only army and police, but the everyday life of each citizen as well. That past experience has been like a psychological shock—it paralyzes us.

"And this is the reason why the only open opposition is shown by the students, by the younger members of the Sokol organization: these youngsters have not more courage than we have, but less experience."

Acquiescence in what seems inevitable, resignation flavored with self-mockery and cynicism—that is the prevailing sentiment of the opposition. This mental attitude—and not terror or repressive measures on the part of the government—accounts for the lack of any organized resistance in Czechoslovakia.

In Poland, on the other hand, the successful reconstruction program which the government initiated and the remarkable economic recovery have without doubt at least neutralized the forces of the opposition. Its backbone are the peasants, and the Polish government has been—so far—very careful in its treatment of them, avoiding any measure which would smell of collectivization.

In Hungary the middle class in cities and towns, economically stronger and more self-conscious than in Poland, and a peasantry which has grown rich during the war and has always been stubborn and rebellious, confront the government with its most difficult problem.

Marshal Tito, on the contrary, refuses to apply the Soviet method as far as the Yugoslav peasants are concerned, but proves himself at the same time the Kremlin's most diligent student in the organization of a revolutionary dictatorship and in the development of its most essential elements: army and secret police.

While it is true that the Soviet satellites follow in general identical political and economic lines, their social structures differ. These differences are important. They help us to gain a more than superficial insight into the relationship of the "popular democracies" with Moscow, into their basic difficulties and recurrent tensions. During last year the variations have become more distinct. These differences, and not the similarities, the variations, and not the general theme, will determine the future political development in Eastern Europe and in the Balkans.

Since I last visited this part of Europe—not quite two years ago—(see UNW, April, 1947). many changes have occurred here. The two most striking can be seen in Warsaw and Prague.

STERN WARSAW AND GLOOMY PRAGUE

Warsaw, the most devastated city of Europe, presented in the winter of '46 a dreadful picture of ruin and misery. Today most of the ruins remain, but long streets of new houses have emerged from the rubble, and in many quarters the scars of war have been completely eradicated.

Warsaw works. From early morning till late at night columns of boys and girls march through the streets: youngsters between 16 and 19 who have been mobilized for reconstruction. And they are rebuilding with hands—not machines. I have not seen a single bulldozer in action. Horse-drawn wagons substitute for trucks. It is all hand work, pick and shovel, axes, hammers and saws. They use every nail, every piece of iron, every stone they can salvage from the ruins, laying brick on brick—until a new house is standing.

A pitiful ruin when I stayed here last, the Bristol today offers all the

Warsaw is Hopeful
Prague Pessimistic
Budapest Gay
Belgrade Confident
Bucharest Quarantined

Russia's Converts *continued*

comforts of a de luxe hotel: spacious lounges, a lobby decorated with taste, nice rooms. The hot water is not a myth. New coffee houses and restaurants are opened every week. The Polish food situation was relatively good two years ago—today there is no rationing. There are three meatless days a week, but bread and butter are plentiful.

Clothes and shoes are still scarce, of poor quality and very expensive. But prices are slowly going down. Wages are slightly higher than last year.

An extensive auto tour through the country confirmed that, while life in Poland is hard, nobody goes hungry and the standard of living of the masses is steadily improving.

Incidentally, I did not experience any police control during my travels in Poland. My car was stopped only once. After the driver had shown his papers, I was not even asked for mine.

While Warsaw gives the impression of vigor and hope, Prague today is a city of gloom. Here the rationing system is very strictly enforced and practically everything eatable is rationed. Restaurant prices have not gone up, but portions have become exceedingly small.

No doubt, last year's poor harvest can be blamed—but there are other reasons. One of these was openly admitted by Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky, the leader of the Trade Unions. He complained about the lack of discipline among the workers in the nationalized industries. During the month of May, one million working hours were lost in the factories of the Prague district alone because workers failed to show up. The heavy industries, praised as the nucleus of class-conscious and Communist worker strength, fared worst of all.

Only Prague's bookstores are doing a flourishing business. With more money than they ever had before and with little to buy, the people are turning to books, the theater and movies. In every bookstore, incidentally, pictures of Stalin are prominently displayed. In Warsaw I hardly noticed them.

The official rate of exchange for the dollar is still 50 crowns.

On the Prague black market, however, Czechs offer you 700 and 800 crowns for a dollar bill—eight times as much as two years ago. This is due, apparently, to the large number of persons who want to leave the country. Their number is greater than in any other country in the Soviet orbit—with the possible exception of Rumania. But, while many illegal Czech emigrants succeed in crossing the frontier, it is as nearly impossible to elude the Rumanian border guards as those of the Soviet Union. In fact, one learns that they are by now identical.

GAY BUDAPEST AND QUARANTINED BUCHAREST

In Prague, nearly everyone begins a conversation with the same question: "Do you think there will be a war?" One suspects that often this preoccupation with forthcoming war is based on the subconscious hope that war will come—bringing about political changes which the opposition cannot accomplish by its own action.

Budapest, by contrast, is not concerned about a future war. Another danger seems closer, it looms at the southern border. One is told: "In the next few weeks"—or days or months, depending on how jittery the informant is—"Rumania will become part of the Soviet Union like Lithuania and Latvia. And around Christmas, it will be Hungary's turn."

There is no way to verify this rumor. Rumania is the most isolated of the Soviet satellites. Visas are unavailable even for citizens of other Eastern countries.

A high official of the Hungarian Foreign Office who had visited Bucharest a few weeks ago explained to me that this strict control was due to "the mess in which the Rumanian government finds itself. They are afraid to let the outside world see how bad things really are. They have no brains, no personalities in the government with the exception of Ana Pauker—no experts in economics and organization at all. Czechoslovakia is suffering from the same lack of trained and well-educated administrators. How different it is in Poland. And look at Hungary!"

Poland's pride is Dr. Hilary Minc, the Communist Minister of Economic Affairs and one of the creators of the three-year plan. Even his opponents concede that this former professor of Cracow University has done an outstanding job.

What Professor Minc is to Poland Ernö Gerö, Minister of Transportation and Communication, is to Hungary (see UNW, September). This 50-year-old engineer is credited with the success of the reconstruction program. Everyone in Budapest is eager to show you the new bridges across the Danube which have been rebuilt or newly constructed in record time. Gerö proved right in spite of all the experts who said it "couldn't be done."

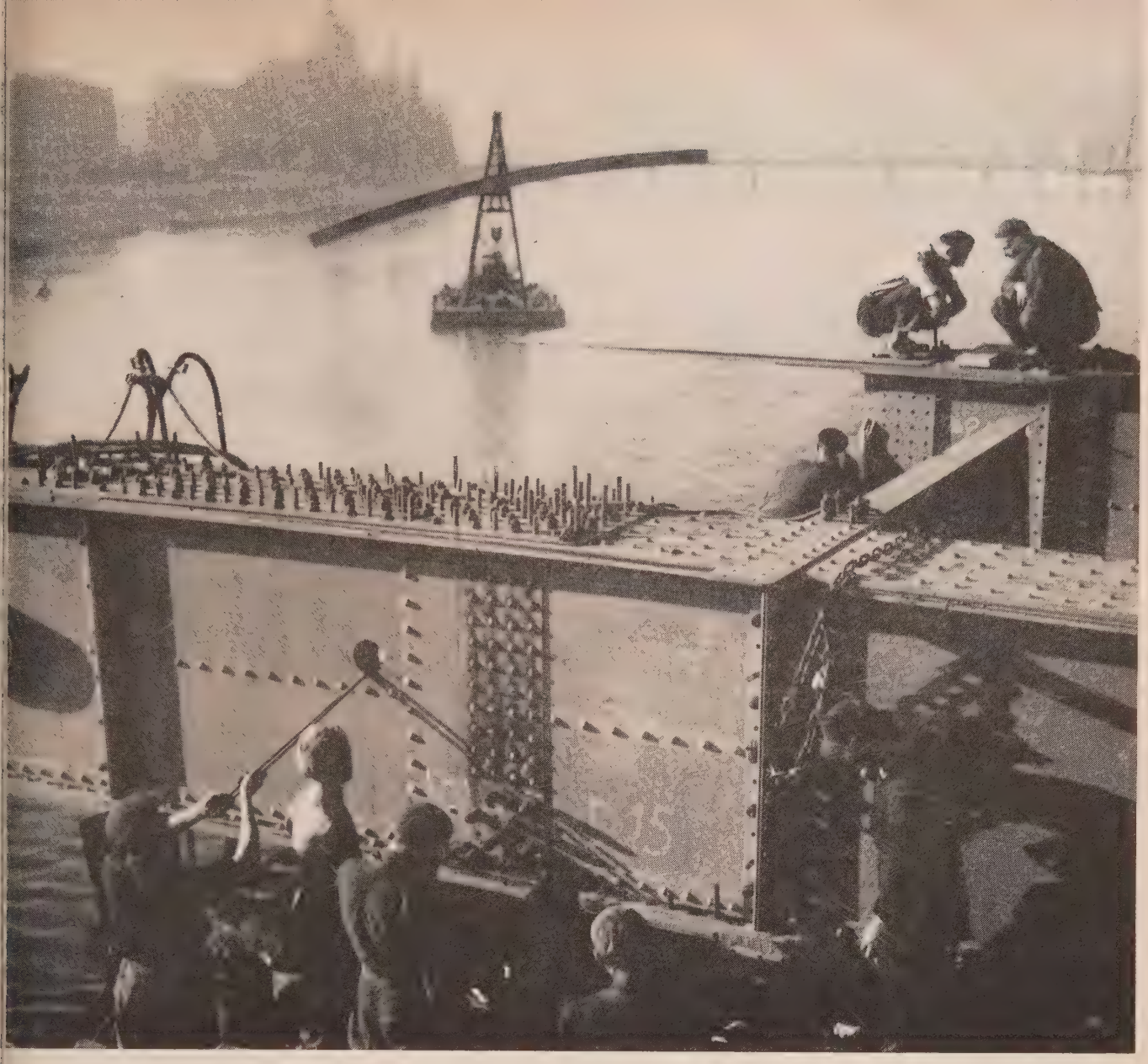
Work on the first bridge started in the summer of 1945 almost without machines or tools or materials. Steel and stone were obtained by cannibalizing the wrecks of other bridges. When the new span was opened to traffic six months later, the general opinion was that it could not last beyond a few weeks. It is still in use.

Budapest no longer gives an impression of destruction and suffering. On the contrary, it is the gayest city of Central or Eastern Europe. Shop windows tempt the passersby with leather goods, shoes and clothes of a quality found nowhere else but in Paris. And you do not need any shoe or clothes coupons in Budapest. Food is plentiful; the restaurants serve meals of peacetime quality and abundance; the coffee terraces are crowded until long after midnight.

You can buy foreign newspapers, American, British and French, on the street corner. The Paris edition of the New York *Herald Tribune*, the London *Times* and the *Morning News* (published by the British Military Government in Vienna) seem most in demand. Budapest is the only city in the Soviet circle where these newspapers are openly sold.

On the surface, to the casual traveler, Budapest presents the appearance of a city where one can live as well as in a bourgeois democracy—with the government taking care of all economic troubles.

The tourist will get his first shock when he enquires about the prices of the beautiful souvenirs he wants to buy. Budapest is today the most expensive city of Europe. At the rate of 11.5 florins to the dollar, a pair of shoes will cost $20 to $25, a single room with bath in a good hotel, $12 to $15 for one night, a pack of 20 Hungarian cigarets $1.20. Food is somewhat cheaper. You can



WORKMEN REBUILDING MARGIT BRIDGE ACROSS THE DANUBE AT BUDAPEST FLOAT A SPAN INTO PLACE

buy an excellent restaurant meal (without wine) for $2 to $3.

How does the native live? According to official statistics, the living standard of the Hungarian is today 45 to 50 per cent of what it was before the war. I am inclined, however, to doubt these statistics which tell us, also, that the monthly salary of a cabinet minister is 1218 florins, a little over $100—the equivalent of 20 good dinners for himself and wife.

I am ready to believe that the average worker fares not too badly in Budapest. The peasants are doing even better. The former industrialist, shopkeeper, the middle-class businessman who is being squeezed out of business—they are the real victims. Such persons can live only by selling personal property, jewelry, silver, etc. The buyers? They are people who have made money in the black market—the inflation profiteers and the rich peasants. It will be their turn next.

The attempts of various "popular democracies" to broaden their political basis by compromising with non-Communist forces—generally the Social-Democrats and peasants—has activated erratic political energies. The Communists, everywhere a small minority, are finding these forces difficult to control. A new national Communism is emerging. It may acquire increasing importance, with the individualistic peasants, who compose the majority of the populations, eventually determining its structure. The variations, through all of which runs a clear anti-Russian motif, may then become more important than the original theme of subordination to Moscow.

Whatever develops, it is almost certain that the whole pattern of the "popular democracies" will undergo decisive changes in the very near future. Moscow still counts on the obedience of Communist leaders in Prague, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia—even Warsaw. Tito counts on the peasants, not only on his own but on those of all the other Eastern countries as well. Every gain for national Communism, therefore, in any satellite state strengthens him at home and abroad.

I left Belgrade with the impression that Tito and his friends are confident of the outcome of their struggle. At least, they do not fear a defeat for the time being.

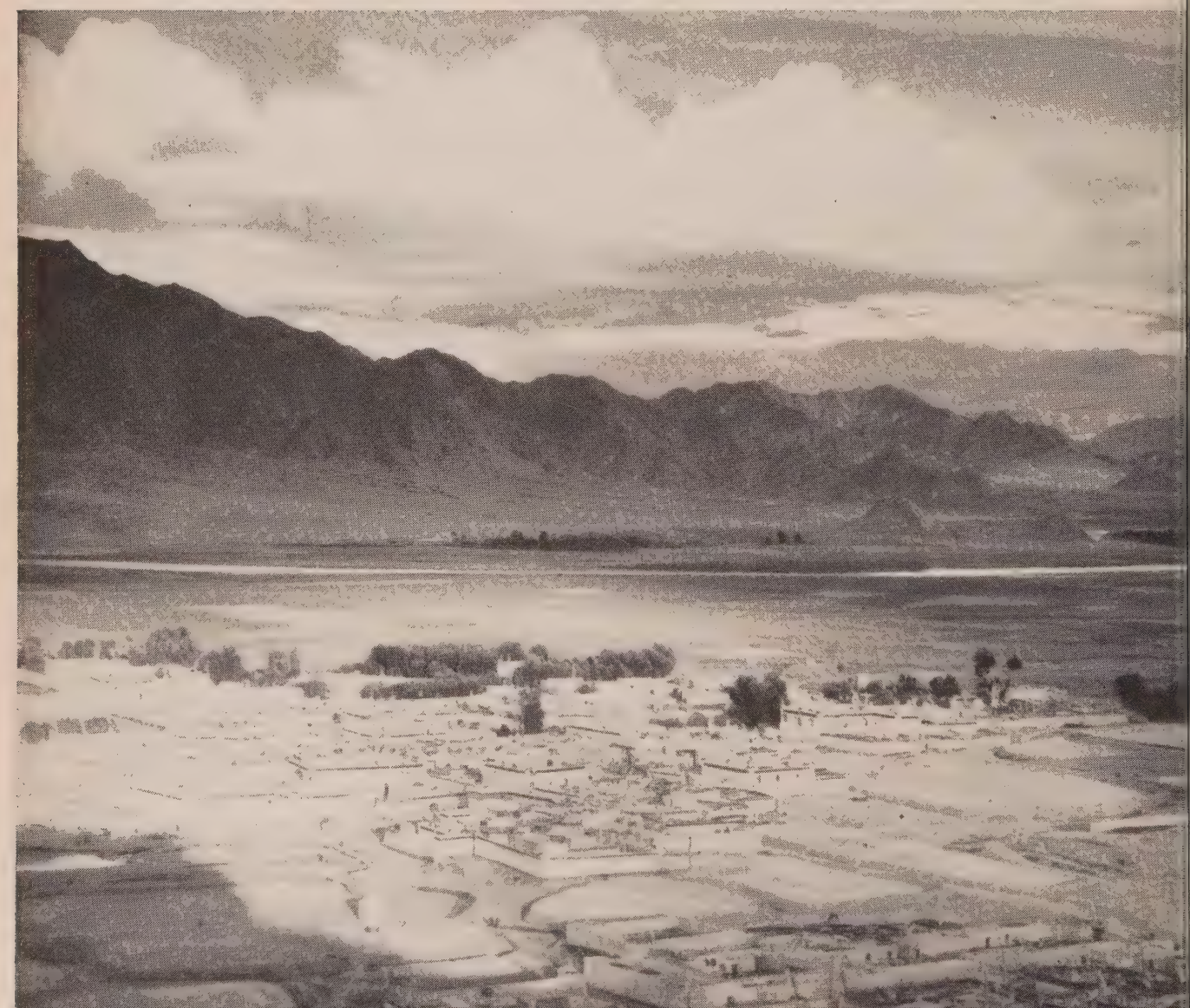
TRAVEL

TEXT AND PICTURES
BY C. SUYDAM CUTTING

Adventure in Tibet

For Arm Chair Travelers Only

BUTTERED TEA AND HONORED FEET
PRAYERS, WOOL AND MYSTIC WISDOM—
THESE ARE THE TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE
SOURCES OF THE FASCINATION OF TIBET



C. Suydam Cutting is an American traveler, author and authority on Central Asia. He has visited Tibet three times, a rare record, and collected there objects of everyday use—saddles, knives, pots and pans—for the American Museum of Natural History. He was a friend of the late Dalai Lama, who died in 1933, and corresponded with him until his death. Mrs. Cutting, who accompanied her husband on a trip, is one of the few western women ever to visit Tibet.

TIBET is a vast, vacant land suspended above the world outside the stream of time.

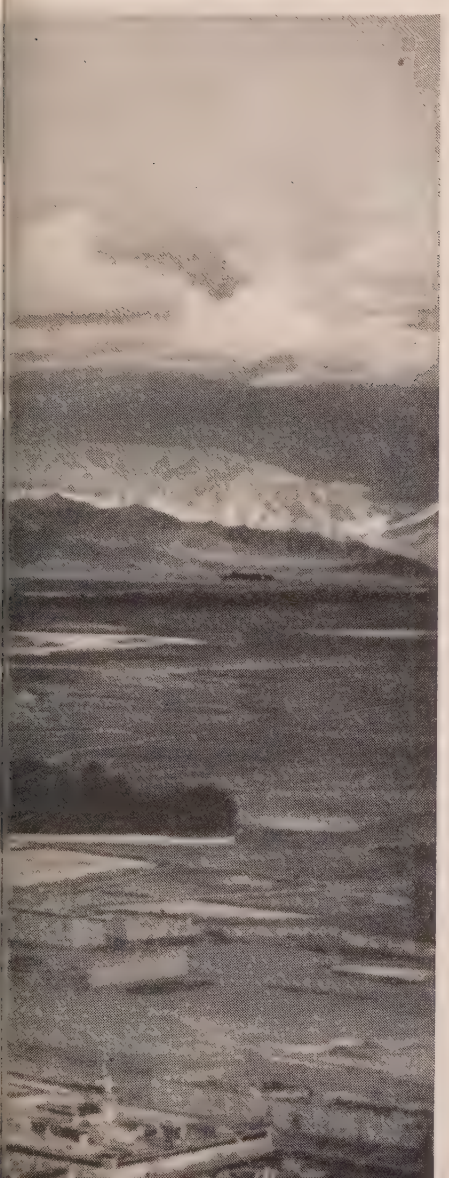
No wheeled vehicle moves on Tibetan soil. Only prayer wheels, small, large and huge, revolve as they have endlessly for thousands of years; and unrevolving Wheels of Life display the sacred symbols of Buddhism. Twenty-odd years ago a small kerosene-powered generating station was set up in Lhasa to furnish electric light for the Potala, the palace of the Dalai Lama; today a few rich intellectuals have radio receiving sets. Most Tibetans, however, live as Tibetans have always lived—in an esoteric world of priests and spirits.

More than a third of Tibet's population belong to monastic orders. On the primitive roads the most frequent travelers are holy men bearing sacred equipment—a small flagon full of holy water, sewn into a bag, a rosary of 108 beads, a drinking cup, one or more reliquaries, a small holy book wrapped in a piece of cloth. The largest lamasery, The Island of Completely Victorious Joyfulness, houses 3300 monks. Like most other lamaseries, it rises out of a bare hillside in majestic isolation.

Virtually all of Tibet is isolated, barren, forbidding. Most inhabitants of central and western Tibet live above the timber line, at 12,000 feet and higher. The nomads tend their herds at altitudes up to 16,000 feet. There, above the grass level, their goats like the yaks feed on moss. Yet not all Tibet is sterile. Many fruits flourish in the southeast, and from the Burma border and the mountains of East Tibet have come many marvelous flowers—rhododendrons, azaleas, hydranges, daphnes, irises, pink and blue myosotis, and the thorny blue poppy.

Tibet is administered by a complex bureaucracy headed by the Pan-ch'en Lama and the Dalai Lama, respectively the spiritual and temporal heads of the country. Higher ranking officials are commonly born to the aristocracy, but nevertheless must obtain their posts by purchase.

A caste system dividing the population into four classes still exists in theory although it has lost its rigidity in actual practice. The higher officials who have the right to be addressed as "Your Honor's Feet" form the aristocracy. Outcasts, those forbidden to live within town limits, are the fettered criminals, beggars and the

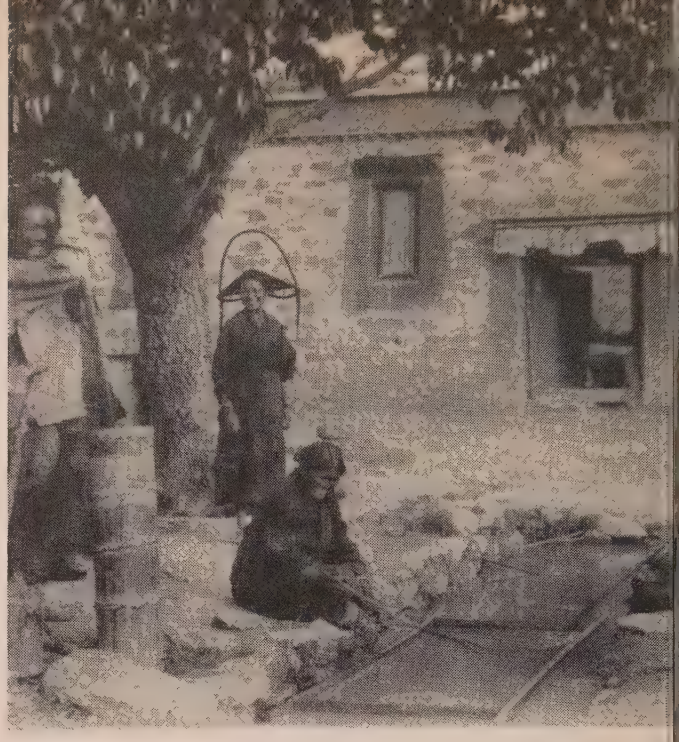


THE SERENE MAJESTY of the Himalayas and the silvery streak of the Brahmaputra River are a background of unmatched beauty for Shigatse, second largest city of Tibet. The flat-roofed houses are carefully whitewashed.

LADY FROM LHASA. Locks of horse hair hanging from bonnet; pendants of silver and turquoise, bejeweled charm box at the neck; elaborate use of unguents, powder and rouge; all that announces a Tibetan femme du monde.

BEGGAR AND BABY. Hers is a hereditary trade. The more patches on her dress, the better her standing. She is entitled to curse strangers refusing alms. Soap being unknown in Tibet, outcast mothers clean new babies by licking.

HIS HONOR, the Governor of Fort Kampa Ozong, with sons and servants. An aristocrat, he wears a silk robe, straight and ample with long sleeves and high neck. His hair is rolled up on top of his head—his wife's chore.



THE GRINNING MAN at left mixes hunks of butter with cheap China tea in a special churn. Salt and soda are added to the emulsion which, when boiled, is Tibet's national drink. The watching woman wears typical Gyantse headgear. Those at left agitate under water a sheet of wood pulp. The manufacture of coarse, soft paper is one of the few Tibetan industries.

Adventure in Tibet *continued*

ra-gyap-pa. The last are Tibet's "undertakers." They cut up dead bodies so that the bones may more readily be picked clean by animals and carrion birds.

Theocratic bureaucracy and aristocracy have failed to impose stern habits and rigid taboos. The women of Tibet have independence and status. Love is an important subject, treated with interest and tolerance. Both polyandry and polygamy are practiced, concubinage is common and there exists some prostitution. The market in aphrodisiacs and love potions is always strong.

In general Tibetans are genial, even gay. Social gatherings are long and elaborate, with a great deal of eating and much conversation, often followed by games. Mah-jong is the great favorite, and Tibetans are enthusiastic gamblers. In addition to such parties, the chief amusements are picnics and theatrical performances.

According to Buddhism, which the Tibetans long ago embraced but revised to fit their own circumstances, life is a burden, a distressing and enslaving illusion due to ignorance. Actually, however, Tibetans show fewer signs of depression and despair than almost any other people. Noble and peasant, merchant and nomad all seem contented. Instead of the whir of motors, the hum of speeding tires, their wheel of life turns silently, slowly, while thousands of prayer wheels spin in the high, cold winds carrying their messages to eternity.

OVAL MASKS with stylized features, loose tunics tucked into full trousers gathered at ankles and bound with a belt make up the costumes of these actors ready to play *The Charitable Prince.* Actors travel as family units.

THE WESTERN ENTRANCE to Lhasa the Holy City is through a chorten called Pargo Kaling, "Middle Door Barrier." Chortens are religious constructions for preservation of sacred relics. Two others flank it. In the background the Potala. Its bastion walls are cut across by straight-ruled roofs, lines repeated by the dot and dash of the rows of windows.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

GERMANY. A recent decision of the military authorities now permits Americans to travel within the US Zone of Germany as individuals. Formerly tourists were permitted to enter Germany only in conducted groups.

Under the new ruling the independent tourist is permitted to stay only in hotels controlled by JEIA—Joint Export-Import Agency of the Allied Military Governments. After receiving permission from the military authorities to visit Germany, the prospective visitor must specify the first and last day of his visit and the hotels where he will remain on these days.

JAPAN. American visitors are now being allowed to enter in groups, but no travelers are permitted as yet to set eyes on Mount Fujiyama, the Imperial Palace and Nippon's other sights as individuals. Package tours authorized under the guidance of the Japan Travel Bureau are seven-day sightseeing trips in comfortable trains and buses with first class accommodation and good food imported from the US. Price, $175. The tours may be purchased through the Pan American Airways, the Northwest Airlines and the American President Lines.

LOWER RATES. From Oct. 1 to next Spring the major airlines will drastically reduce round trip fares (but not one way fares) to Europe. Here are the new tariffs:

American Airlines: New York-London, $466.70; previously $630.00.

KLM: New York-Geneva, $531 from $716.00.

Scandinavian: New York-Copenhagen-Oslo, $541.30 from $741.60.

Air France: New York-London-Paris, $493.40 from $666.00.

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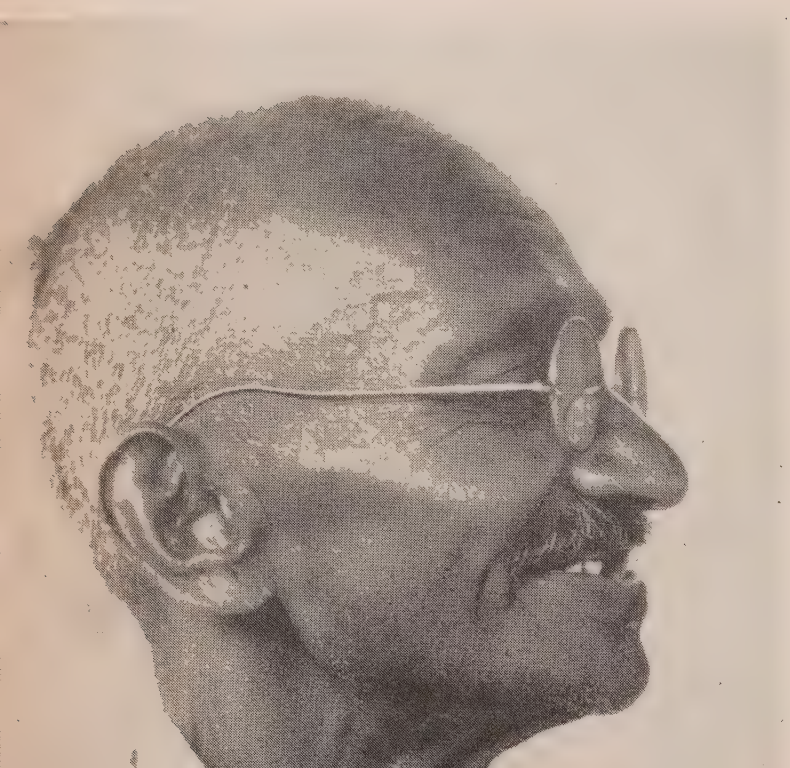
WORLD BOOKS

Gandhi's Autobiography
Translated from Gujerati by Mahadev Desai,
Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C. $5.

Mahatma Gandhi gave mankind

what neither Buddha nor Christ bestow

The legacy of his autobiography



THE MAHATMA AS HE APPEARED IN HIS LATER YEARS

A SHAMED—NOT SHAMEFUL—RECORD

The Sir

BY BETTY STONES

MANY years after the death of Gautama Buddha the legend became established that he died after having knowingly allowed a humble devotee to serve him putrid food. Of Christ it was reported that he cried out on the cross, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!" But of Mahatma Gandhi it is known, in fact, that he expended his last strength blessing his assassin. And the news sped around the world within an hour.

In appraising Gandhi, it is inevitable that he should be compared with the spiritual leaders of the past. He has followed in their footsteps through the strait gate and the narrow way that leads to a world of the spirit remote from the common world of men, yet immanent in men. In his autobiography we have a saint's own statement of the kind of faith that can awaken millions to constructive effort, that can call into being new social orders, new arts, new ideals. Stripped of all miracles, stripped of poetry, it elucidates for the Age of Reason the nature of a saint. Gandhi calls it "The Story of My Experiments With Truth."

Gandhi was born in 1869, the so of a prime Minister of a tiny sta in western India. His parents wo shipped Vishnu the preserver, t God of Life, and were influenced b Jainism, a philosophy which teache above all, *ahimsa*, or nonviolence, t such a degree that its most devo votaries sweep the insects away they walk, and wear masks to avo injuring with their breath the invi ible inhabitants of the air.

But young Gandhi was not reli ious. As a boy, he participated in number of feasts on forbidde meat, and stole money from the ser ants in order to buy cigarets. H childhood ended when he was ma ried at the age of 13 to Kasturba aged 10. With shame he relates t story of the premature passion whic distracted his growing mind and pr voked possessive, jealous and cru emotions. "Whenever I think of tho dark days of doubt and suspicion, am filled with loathing of my fol and my lustful cruelty."

Yet even in the pubescent husba

haracteristics appear that fore-hadow the future Gandhi: self-discipline, trustfulness, a strong distaste or lying.

When, at 19, he went to England o study law, his apprehensive nother made him take a vow to bstain from wine, women and meat.

The observance of these vows ather than his law studies shaped Gandhi in England. The vow against iquor seems to have troubled him ot at all; the vow of chastity was trengthened by his natural desire to e faithful to his wife. But the vow o abstain from meat had to be kept gainst his own tastes, and the child-ood maxim that meat-eating was erhaps his patriotic duty:

Behold the mighty Englishman,
He rules the Indian small,
Because being a meat-eater
He is five cubits tall.

He plunged into a study of egetarianism, then a new cult in England, which disabused him of

liar figure, first as Gandhi the public man, later as Gandhi the Saint.

Within a few days after his arrival he was ordered, and refused, to take off his Indian turban in court; one week later he was forcibly removed from his place in a train to make room for a European, and left stranded on a bitterly cold station platform; two days afterwards he was beaten by a stage-coach "leader" for refusing to sit at his feet.

It would not be correct to say that his personal resentment thrust him into the role of revolutionary. But he felt on his own skin the condition of all his countrymen, the most cultured of whom were called "coolies" by the meanest white colonial, and treated as such. "The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial —only a symptom of the deep disease . . . I should try, if possible, to root out the disease, and suffer hardship in the process."

f a Savior

hese misconceptions, but caused him o embark upon a long series of ietetic experiments, at first hygienic nd economic, but later to acquire a eligious hue. For Gandhi, the road o sainthood led through crankdom.

Back in India, Gandhi's career as lawyer did not at first look promis-ng. He was shy to a degree, tongue-ied and dizzy before the court. To ake matters worse, he soon found imself in the bad books of an arro-ant Political Agent, who ordered is servant to push Gandhi forcibly ut of his office. Of all the stupendous ist of kicks and spurns that Indians ould tot up against insolent British fficialdom, this was perhaps the ingle one that was sincerely for-iven,—and the single one that or-ained the end of an empire.

A MAN WHO WAS CALLED 'COOLIE.' BEATEN. SHAMED

Unable to carry on his practice under cloud, Gandhi went to South frica, and here found the work rom which he emerged as the fami-

He made Christian friends but they failed to rescue him from his "abyss of ignorance." He could not accept the interpretation of Christ's crucifixion as a redemption of the world's sins. "I do not seek redemption from the consequences of my sin," he told them. "I seek to be redeemed from sin itself, or rather from the very thought of sin." This reply suggests the stature of Christ himself.

In 1906 when Gandhi was 37 years old and the father of four sons. he took the vow of *brahmacharya* which is usually defined as self-restraint, especially of the sexual passion, but in Gandhi's definition meant the control of the senses in thought, word, and deed. He had tried to practice *brahmacharya* before, but for a selfish reason—the desire to limit his family—and had failed. Once he had decided that this step was necessary to a life of service, he felt able—with Kasturbai's acquiescence—to take the final vow.

With the extinction of the sexual passion came the extinction of the desire for wealth, elaborate household, and family advantage. It may not be said that Gandhi's affections were disengaged from his family by his asceticism, but they were expanded to include the world as his family. The vow became not a restriction, but a release from egotism.

This change did not pass without protest from some of his relatives. Gandhi dismissed them in almost the same terms as Christ dismissed his own mother and brothers, pointing to the multitude around him, and saying, "Behold my mother and my brethren!"

A MAN OF PRAYER, OF LONG FASTS AND SHARP WIT

Of similar experiences in the lives of Buddha and Christ only symbolical accounts remain: the temptation of Christ by the Devil, that of Buddha by Mara the Evil One. To all blandishments the great ones returned resounding denials. But we have Gandhi's word that the way of the spirit is not so simple as that. "Let no one believe that it was an easy thing for me. Even when I am past fifty-six years, I realize how hard a thing it is . . . like walking on the sword's edge."

Neither Christ nor Buddha were as strict in dietary matters as Gandhi.

His greater emphasis on fasting was perhaps due to the immediacy of the problems he tackled, and that he chose to tackle them with spiritual weapons. Hardly had he taken the *brahmacharya* vow when the foundation of *Satyagraha* was laid. *Satyagraha* is usually translated as "passive resistance" — a weak, negative term which does not befit Gandhi's philosophy at all. Literally, it means *truth-firmness*. Since truth, to Gandhi was synonymous with *ahimsa*, or non-violence, the term might be elucidated as *non-violent firmness*, or the well-known iron hand in the velvet glove. During the 52-year-old history of *Satyagraha* many Indians have lost their lives, and bodies have been wracked by beating and by prison. That they might face these ordeals without hatred, even with love in their hearts, with no other weapon against lathees and machine guns save bold faith, Gandhi constantly exhorted his followers to

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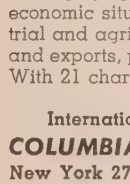

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World Books *continued*

strengthen themselves by fasting and by prayer.

Gandhi simplified his life by establishing himself and friends of every race and creed, caste and outcaste, in a self-supporting country *Ashram*, or retreat. From such a retreat he edited his famous newspaper whose name was the meanest word in India —*Harijan* (*Untouchable*).

Such was Gandhi's indifference to honors that the stages by which he grew from an obscure agitator to a figure of world renown are almost imperceptible in his account. But as a Mahatma, he looked back with regret upon early days when his friends called him *bhai*, brother. Even so did Buddha, prefer this name. "The woes of Mahatmas are known to Mahatmas alone," explains Gandhi.

In the stories of Buddha and Christ, there is no humor. But Gandhi has a sense of humor, uncontrived and unstudied. He pokes fun mostly at himself. Of a friend he says, "The moment I met him I found he was a crank like myself." His self-portraits show him as a young man in London earnestly trying to learn to dance like a good British subject; miserably trailing over mountains after an agile English girl; as a thrifty father, learning to starch his own shirt collars. Such scenes evoke the true marvel of saints which is not that they are sons of God but that they are sons of men.

Gandhi's style is vigorous, simple direct, a faithful reflection of hi clean, keen mind. If his nature re sembled that of Christ, it is permis sible to wonder whether the latter' beautifully contrived, almost ep grammatic phrases, sprang from hi lips—or from the pens of chronicler with long wicks to burn.

Buddha, Christ and Gandhi i their experiments with truth arrive at the same conclusions, and eac was a sign to his generation. Buddh brought moderation to philosophie run wild; Christ taught love to thos made selfish by oppression; Gandh has shown *ahimsa* triumphant in world heartily sick and tired of vio lence, hatred, and mistrust.

This autobiography was written i prison in 1922-24. He wrote "as th Spirit moves me" and ceased writin when that Spirit failed to prod. I was translated from Gujerati by hi secretary and disciple of many years Mahadev Desai, who has obviousl been faithful both to style and mean ing.

It is a great pity that this book published for the first time in th United States, should have been s wretchedly printed, carelessly proo read, and inadequately edited. Th publisher's policy of presenting a fin binding on the outside and a paltr job on the inside is one of whic Gandhi would have vigorously dis approved.

NATIVE SONS

Vouza and the Solomon Islands

by Hector MacQuarrie. New York, The Macmillan Company, $4.

An unspecified number of years before World War II, Hector MacQuarrie was appointed District Officer of the easternmost group of the Solomon Islands, a post carrying with it all the obligations and potentialities of empire-builder, crime-smasher, love-consultant, Julius Caesar, and little white father. Of his short happy life on Vanikoro, he brings us tales told with much humor, both sweet and dry.

The stories are concerned among other things with the *grande passion* of a small pig called Denis; tense moments amid hostile gentlemen with tetanus-tipped spears (behaving, the D.O. admits, as men should behave when they feel their freedom threatened); ticklish domestic crises; observations on the oldest profession as it is practiced in Melanesia. Dominating the scene are two figures: Ito, the clever and cruel Japanese trader with an unholy knowledge of waters soon to be fought over; and Vouza, the corporal of police, loyal, handsome, composed, efficient, selfless, and kind. To Vouza the book is dedicated, perhaps not only for his personal qualities, but because he is, to Mr. MacQuarrie, a reflection of the best in his people, "the dearest in the world."

For all its exotic antics, the book is threaded with an old and sorry tale: the tragedy of imperial officialdom which exists on top of and apart from, the people it purports to protect, to the vanity and prestige of which lives are unjustly sacrificed. The author is neither radical nor rancorous, but in Vouza's person he makes a powerful argument for more considerate and progressive government of these distant charges of Britain's empire. B. S.

African Contrasts
by R. H. W. Shepherd and B. G. Paver. Cape Town, The Oxford University Press, $9.

This study of the modern South African Bantu raises a very different kind of voice from that which followers of the activities of the United Nations are accustomed to hear from South Africa. It states flatly that neither stick nor stone has been laid, nor mine plumbed, nor field plowed in that thriving land, but by Africans, or with the help of Africans. And with equal vigor it sums up their reward: wretched housing, callous treatment before the law, relegation to unskilled jobs, inadequate medical care, grinding poverty, and above all, the abrasive bondage of inferior social position.

Yet it is not a catalogue of crime. The book's chief purpose is to point out the African's outstanding qualities. In soundness of ethical values, mental powers, and sense of justice, it argues, he is equal to white men; in good manners and linguistic ability he surpasses them. Some examples of Bantu poetry are given which are of surprising quality, for spiritual feeling as well as for grandeur of language.

The authors obviously represent a strong body of opinion that "no virile people can be kept down indefinitely by force" and that the future of South Africa rests upon the recognition by whites of the "inexorable interdependence of the Bantu and European builders of the country."

B.S.

Lands of the Dawning Morrow
by Carleton Beals. Indianapolis-New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, $4.00.

Mr. Beals, who recently returned from a nine-months' trip in Latin America, makes a good case for progress there during the last 20 years, and especially since World War II. Latin America has grown in all directions—politically, culturally, industrially and agriculturally. It is making use of modern techniques, irrigating lands, experimenting with new crops to rid itself of the scourge of a one-crop economy, building power plants, new roads and bridges and developing attractive, well-planned cities.

The people of Latin America are also advancing with the growth of a middle class, the political recognition of women and the development of organized labor. Painting and literature (including book publishing) are flourishing.

Because of the vastness of his subject and despite an easy style, the book is not as readable as one would wish and at times seems repetitious, but the wealth of revealing detail makes up for shortcomings.

ANNE PALMOS

DEMONOLOGY

Karl Marx
by Isaiah Berlin, London-New York, Oxford University Press, $2.00.

Coming in an era of rude partisanship, Dr. Berlin's popular biography of Marx is more than welcome. Quite aside from the value of his quiet review of the contributions Marx made to daily life, Berlin succeeds in defrosting his subject's glacial genius. He quotes the Russian sociologist Kovalevsky as a character witness: "Marx is usually described as a gloomy and arrogant man, who flatly rejected all bourgeois science and culture. In reality he was a well-educated, highly cultivated Anglo-German gentleman, a man whose close association with Heine had developed in him a vein of cheerful satire, and one who was full of the joy of life, thanks to the fact that his personal position was extremely comfortable."

The man often called an apostle of chaos was a *pater familias* of easy affections. "Sundays he dedicated to his children," Berlin relates, "and when these grew up and married, to his grandchildren. The entire family had nicknames; his daughters were Qui-Qui, Quo-Quo, and Tussy; his wife was Moehme; he himself was known as the Moor or Old Nick on account of his dark complexion and sinister appearance."

The most important message this fascinating little book conveys is inherent in its description of Marx's evolution as a revolutionary. "He was little known to the general public, and while towards the end of his life he became the recognized, and admired, leader of a powerful international movement, nothing in his life or character stirred the imagination or evoked the boundless devotion, the intense, almost religious, worship with which such men as Kossuth, Mazzini, and even Lassalle in his last years, were regarded by their followers."

Above all, Marx was not subversive. Dr. Berlin points out that it was Bakunin who in "later years turned to secret terrorist groups," while Marx laid "the foundation of an open official revolutionary party proceeding by recognized political methods."

A characteristic incident related in the book tells of his passing in London, mourned by a small band of devoted friends, but unnoticed by the general public. The London *Times* alone did print a "brief and inaccurate obituary notice"—in a dispatch from its Paris correspondent.

The world at large knows Marx from bitter second-hand accounts. Consequently he remains what his friend Engels called him: "The best-hated and most calumniated man of his time." Yet over the din of war raging about the silent giant drone Marx's own sophisticated words: "As for myself, I'm *not* a Marxist."

LADISLAS FARAGO

Joseph Goebbels, The Devil's Advocate
by Curt Riess. New York, Doubleday, $3.95.

In the introduction to his book, Mr. Riess relates difficulties he encountered in his investigations for this biography. "When I revisited Germany toward the end of the war and talked to people who had known Goebbels, who had lived and worked with him, I began to realize that . . . Goebbels lied about himself as extensively as he lied about the Nazi state."

It seems to this reviewer that Mr. Riess, normally a competent and shrewd observer, was effectively lied to by some of his 16 German informants, notably by Dr. Hans Fritzsche. Described as the "number-two man in the Propaganda Ministry and Goebbels' closest associate," Fritzsche was remarkably successful in palming off his propaganda on Mr. Riess—including a series of weird "anecdotes" which have no foundation in fact.

Originally planned as a novel patterned after Goebbels' own pubertoid *Michael*, but later converted into a "biography," the volume retains strong fictional overtones. We must await a later date and a less spellbound writer to produce a Goebbels biography in fact as well as in name.

L.F.

DANGER AHEAD

The Road to Survival
by William Vogt. William Sloan, $4.

THE ROAD TO SURVIVAL is the most recent of a number of books on the natural resources of the Western Hemisphere and the way in which they are being wasted. The fact that this book has been a best-seller indicates that it is both well written and that, finally, one author has succeeded in penetrating the hard shell of American complacence.

In this book Mr. Vogt writes with the knowledge and authority of one who has thought deeply about the physical and cultural state of the world. The picture he presents is one to frighten and worry anyone in America who takes the present high standard of living for granted. Of what use—for instance—is a United Nations organization when the resources of each nation have been dissipated and the earth's topsoil on which we live has washed into the sea? In this event would not the UN be a group of frightened nations huddling together for mutual consolation at their failure to live in harmony with nature? As in the following statements Mr. Vogt pulls no punches:

■ "One of the most ruinous limiting factors (to harmonious living with our environment) is the capitalistic system"—meaning the damage caused by unlimited use and abuse of natural resources.

■ Speaking of erosion: "It is probable that corn under modern methods of cultivation has caused more misery than venereal disease."

■ And again: "Unless we are willing to place 50 million British feet beneath our dining room table we may well see famine once more stalking the streets of London; and hand in hand with famine will walk the shade of that clear sighted English clergyman, Thomas Robert Malthus."

It is possible that the above statements are among those which have made *The Road to Survival* the center of controversy among conservationists and those concerned about population and natural resources. Whether criticism is valid or not, the book will have served a useful purpose if it arouses discussion of such proportions that Americans and others come to an understanding of the base on which their civilization rests.

ELIOT PRATT

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World Books *continued*

Eastern Asia
by Thomas E. Ennis. Phildelphia, Lippincott. $5.

What distinguishes this textbook from many others on the history of Eastern Asia is the vivacity of its language and a sharp —almost reportorial—eye for the significant anecdote. Its greatest virtue, however, is a masterful blending of political, social and economic history, which permits the reader to get a deeper, an organic view of the formation and development of East Asiatic societies. A few more tables and graphs would have been a useful addition to a very useful book.

Europe
by C. A. Alington. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, $3.75.

In this book the Dean of the University of Durham has written a palatable, concise and very clear short history of Europe. To establish his purpose, he quotes Oliver Goldsmith's aim—"not to add to historical knowledge but to contract it." The peaks of Europe's history emerge sharply and form a logical chain which one can follow with ease and interest. As a refresher for laymen the book renders a valuable service. Unfortunately, paper and printing are below par.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

PARIS: LITERATURE MARCHES ON.

THE FINAL of the Grand Prix of the French Novel will take place in October, five manuscripts out of 510 having been passed by the jury. These five are being published anonymously by a literary weekly in Paris. The winner will receive an award of 1 million francs, $3300.

ANDRE MALRAUX'S recent book, *Le Musée imaginaire*—"The Imaginary Museum"—(Albert Skira, Paris), is considered his most dazzling intellectual exercise. It is a revaluation of the history of art from the point of view of the modern artist.

THE FIRST VOLUME of François Mauriac's gloomy *Journal* has been published by La Table Ronde.

JEAN GIONO'S new novel, *Un roi sans divertissement*—"A King without Fun"—(Gallimard), is hailed as a major work. It is set in the middle of the last century, its hero a retired colonial soldier.

ANDRE MAUROIS'S DAUGHTER, Michelle Maurois, has just published her first novel: *La Table des matières*—"The Table of Contents."

MILAN: TWO SUCCESSES.

ALDO PALAZZESCHI, the aging master of Italian prose has added to his work an impressive novel, *I fratelli Cùccoli*—"The Cùccoli Brothers"—(Vallecchi, Florence.)

ALBERTO MORAVIA'S new book, *La disubbidienza*—"The Disobedience"—(Bompiani, Milan), tells of the life of an adolescent boy. A tale of storms and crises, tender and strong.

LIONELLO VENTURI, the famous art historian has edited an anthology of modern painting between 1905 and 1945: *Pittura contemporanea*—"Contemporary Painting" —12 four-color and 239 black-and-white reproductions. (Hoepli, Milan.)

LONDON: THE LIVING PAST.

THE RENAISSANCE of Henry James is not an exclusively American phenomenon. Witness *The Question of Henry James*, a collection of critical essays edited by F. W. Dupee. (Allan Wingate.)

ARTHUR RIMBAUD by Enid Starkie (Hamish Hamilton), is an interpretation of the life and the work of the great French poet. Described as exceptionally illuminating.

THE FEMALE PEN by B. G. MacCarthy (B. H. Blackwell, Oxford), is a study of women writers in English between 1744 and 1818.

A LETTER by Shelley in which the poet discusses Goethe has recently fetched £500 at an auction sale.

BUCHAREST: STALIN WINS.

THE RUMANIAN Workers (Communist) Party has brought out 12 million volumes from August, 1944, to the present. Of these, 453,000 were copies of Joseph Stalin's works, far outdistancing 116,000 by Karl Marx.

A PERSPECTIVE—TAPERED RAIL YARD OF COAL GONDOLAS—A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PATTERN OF POWER

Policy Report On World Trends in COAL

FIFTH IN A SERIES OF UN WORLD COMMODITY SURVEYS BY THE EDITORS

IT IS HEAT AND LIGHT,
FOOD, SHELTER AND ENERGY

AUSTIN FOSTER
on Treaties and Investments Abroad

HERBERT HARRIS
on Psychology in Business

THE COAL CRISIS in Europe was drawing to an end in December, 1947. In that month the European Coal Organization ceased to allocate the supply to all of Europe (excluding Russia, which was invited to join and refused, and Spain which was excluded for "diplomatic reasons").

When the ECO was dissolved and its functions assumed by the coal division of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the records of tonnages, man-hours, wages, food-ration incentives were stacked away in reference files. The worst was over. But the memory of the 1946-47 coal famine had been etched in acid upon the European mind.

Whether statesman or coal-miner, or plant manager or housewife; whether proletarian, middle class or patrician, Europeans had long looked upon coal as queen in the

Coal *continued*

chess-game of international politics. They realized that "Rule Britannia" had depended for centuries on production of British pits near Newcastle, Cardiff and Glasgow.

They realized that the moves and countermoves to gain control over coal territory in the Saar and Silesia and the Ruhr had been at the core of diplomatic struggles between the French and Germans and Poles, and a contributing cause of war. They had read in their textbooks that coal was the central and indispensable prime mover of modern industry, that it was the source of steam to drive locomotives, to turn turbines generating electric light and power. They knew that the amount of work done by coal alone accomplished five times as much as that done by human labor around the globe.

They had been told in *lycée* and *gymnasium* that if some malign wizard were at the stroke of midnight to banish coal from the world, darkness would settle over most of the great cities, half of ocean shipping would be paralyzed, that even if the last barrel of petroleum and the last kilowatt of hydro-electric energy were invoked, calamity would come: no trains would run, factory wheels would slow to a stop, and millions starve.

But, even to the coal digger, the owner of a mine or professor of political economy, the universal importance of coal as the pivot of industrial civilization was at best indirect or partial knowledge. It was something perceived dimly. It was intellectually apprehended, not felt. It was not lived. But throughout 1946-47, European emotions, as well as European economics, were involved with coal, and passionately. Coal touched the lives of 255 million people with a dramatic impact and immediacy and intimacy never equalled before.

Lack of coal reduced the supply of bread. Grain crops were poor in part as a result of bad weather, but in part as a result of insufficient nitrogen. Europe's fertilizer facilities that could produce 400,000 tons of nitrogen stood idle because there was no coal. Some 7½ tons of coal are required to net a single ton of nitrogen. But this amount, when mixed with other nutrients, can multiply the wheat yield on a 1 to 12 ratio—for every ton of nitrogen, 12 extra tons of wheat.

Lack of coal reduced the supply of electricity.

Lack of coal for coking held back steel output. Iron ore, steel scrap, skilled labor, furnaces were abundant. But they could not be combined into steel production without coal as catalytic agent. Deficiency in steel in turn impeded mining of coal since worn cutters, conveyors, shovels, mainly fashioned from steel, could not be repaired or replaced.

Lack of coal hampered housing. Sweden, Norway and Finland normally import coal from the United Kingdom, Germany and Poland, sending them lumber in exchange. But, because the Scandinavian countries couldn't obtain enough coal, they burned logs as fuel, instead of transforming them into beams, flooring and siding. As another part of the vicious cycle, coal production itself depends considerably on pit-prop timber which was in short supply.

While today the coal supply has been vastly improved primarily because of increased output from UK and continental mines, the very existence of the ECO's successor in the ECE points up the fact that coal as a world commodity, in all its aspects of management, manpower, mechanization, markets, will continue to preoccupy governments and peoples.

WHERE THE COAL BEDS LIE—SOFT, HARD AND MEDIUM

At the center of the perennial coal problem are:

- Nature's random and whimsical distribution of various types of coal like the filling of a club sandwich between the earth's igneous bedrock and its crust.
- The competition of oil (see UNW, September) and hydro-electric power.
- The question of private or public ownership.
- The potential application of atomic energy to industrial purposes, only some 20 years away.

There are three main classes of coal in order of increasing hardness, lignite, bituminous and anthracite.

1. Lignite is spongy, brown, woody. It contains the least carbon, ranks lowest in heating value, tends to crumble when handled, and cannot be stored for long without the risk of spontaneous combustion. It can seldom be transported far from the tipple. Hence in Germany, which has 60 per cent of the world's lignite deposits, the electric power plants are located close by the lignite fields. German machines and man-energy must be devoted to moulding and compressing lignite into briquettes to reduce its moisture content, doubling its thermal value.

In Czechoslovakia, Russia and Hungary, which together account for some 32 per cent of the globe's lignite, it is used chiefly as industrial and household fuel.

In Germany lignite has for decades been transformed by I. G. Farben distillation processes into oil, wax, tar and a long list of chemicals.

2. Bituminous is that coal which is called "soft" in the US. It varies greatly in quality from the solid high-heat type used in ship bunkers to the more porous, volatile type employed in the production of artificial gas. Both types are converted into coke and their chemical by-products are virtually limitless, including a large portion of modern medicines and plastics.

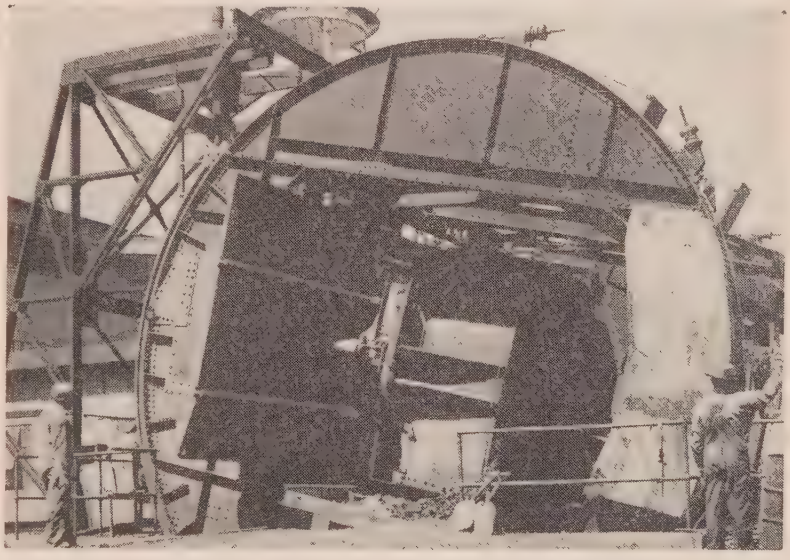
3. Anthracite is a brilliant black coal, the hardest of all, being 95 per cent carbon. Since it holds fire well, yields great heat with virtually no smoke or gas, and leaves little ash, it is a nearly ideal household fuel. And that is its principal use. Some 52 per cent of the world's anthracite is mined in the US, about 29 per cent in the USSR, with most of the remainder coming from Belgium, UK, French Morocco and Indo-China and Germany.

US coal output remains the highest in the world. Even at peak operation, US mines have a substantial margin of unused capacity. During 1944, for example, at the height of the war effort, when production hit the incredible mark of 683,277,603 short (2000-lb.) tons, existing labor, installations and equipment would have made possible a total output of 753 million tons (686 million bituminous and 67 million anthracite) on a basis of 308 working days a year. It was therefore comparatively easy for the US to meet the coal export targets set by ERP planners in Paris, without inconvenience to the American consumer. But, while the Paris planners

QUICKER THAN SHOVELS: This hopper car unloading coal into an underground pit requires seven men with long pikes to keep the coal constantly moving out through the open bottom of the car.

COAL-MINING COMEBACK CUTS EXPECTATIONS OF NEED FOR AMERICAN EXPORTS— INSTEAD OF LACKING 6 MILLION TONS IN 1951, EUROPE MAY BE SELF-SUPPORTING AFTER 1950

NO HOPPERS NEEDED HERE. In this operation, the entire car is dumped on a "vertical turntable." At the flip of a switch, track and car are tipped sidewise and the coal cascade out into the pit.



AND NO MEN NEEDED HERE. The gadget gripping the edges of the coal car in this photo has replaced the seven men at top—and, by shaking the entire car, empties it faster than 14 men could.

estimated that US coal exports would have to continue until 1951 when only 6 million tons would be needed by Europe, the prospects are now that Europe will not have to import any US coal after 1950.

As European coal production rises, US exports steadily decline. Between January and May, 1947, for example, the US shipped some 12½ million tons of coal to Europe, but in the corresponding period for this year it shipped only 7½ million tons, a drop of some 40 per cent.

The disappearance during World War II of British and German coal from the international market at a time when the need was everywhere exigent, boosted the US into the position of being the greatest coal exporting nation. In 1938, the US exported only 12.4 million tons altogether—but 78.1 in 1947. Of this Europe's share was 40.7 million tons in contrast to 19,000 tons in 1938. The pending loss of European customers as a result of the spectacular recovery staged by Europe's coal mines so far this year worries only a minority of US mine operators.

Exports—even those to Canada which has been the biggest purchaser of US coal for 25 years (buying 7 million tons during the first 5 months of 1947)—have comprised only a fraction of total coal sales. Abnormal overseas demand for US coal, such as the 78.1 million tons exported in 1947 to North and Central America, South

BRITAIN INTRODUCES LIGHT flame-proof and fluorescent—into one of its closely-timbered, shallow-seam mines. This is part of the government's program to speed production and cut costs.

WHETHER IN SOCIALIZED BRITAIN

OR SOVIETIZED GERMANY—

FOR SWEATING MAN

AND BAREFOOT WOMAN—

THE GOAL IS COAL PRODUCTION

A LIGNITE BED IN SOVIET GERMANY. The flowered blouse and dimpled smile of this young open-pit miner contrast sharply with her heavy breeches, bare feet and long-handled shovel.

America, Europe, Asia, Oceania and Africa represented only 13 per cent of a total output of 592 million tons.

Coal management's expectancy of future profits centers primarily upon prolongation of present US boom conditions. Theirs is a domestic market. They are concerned less with a falling off in export revenues than with the competition of oil and hydro-electric power. To meet that competition head on, 1949-50 plans of US coal operators call for the most intensive program of mine mechanization in US history to lower unit cost per ton.

Already the US miner, aided increasingly by cutting and loading machines, pneumatic picks and drills, belt conveyors, diesel and electric locomotives, outproduces his like around the world. And today's trends toward further mechanization suggest that the American mine will less and less resemble a cave and more and more a factory underground. In tons per man per day, the US miner ranges from a low of 4.29 to a high of 10.28 as compared to an overall average of 2.30 for the United Kingdom, 2.06 for France, 1.54 for Holland, 1.33 for Poland, 1.22 for Belgium, 1.16 for Germany, 1.03 for Australia, 0.33 for India and 0.24 for Japan.

In the United Kingdom mine modernization is a central tenet in the theology of nationalization. Without question, the UK's mechanical, as well as its managerial and marketing techniques, were both anarchic and

archaic at the start of World War II. But perhaps too much has been made of this point in the efforts to explain the drastic decline of the UK as the world's chief beneficiary and dispenser of coal from the days of the Industrial Revolution.

As the primary sponsor of the steam-engine and steamship and the steel furnaee, Britain based its prosperity for 200 years on its excellent coal fields. As early as 1709 the British discovery that coal, instead of wood or charcoal, could be used to smelt iron ore gave impetus to British mining—even before Mr. Watt invented his "most curious contrivances."

It was the ocean-going steamship that particularly fostered Britain's famous coal-export trade. As ships of all flags brought bulky cargoes of timber and grain for Britain, their captains were glad to take on bulky cargoes of British coal for the return voyages. During the last part of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century, British coal exports exceeded those of all other nations combined, rising from 3.2 million tons in 1850 to 14 million tons in 1875, to 44 million tons in 1900 to 73.4 million tons in 1913.

MECHANIZE AND MODERNIZE—BRITAIN'S PRIMARY TASK

Contributing to British supremacy in the export of coal were:

- The superior quality and variety of British coal.
- Skill and experience in mining it.
- Short hauls from pit-head to seaboard averaging only 25 miles.
- Proximity to the developing industrialism of Northwestern Europe and to coal-barren Mediterranean coasts.
- Creation of the world's greatest fleets of cargo and fighting ships, the biggest users of bunker coal.
- Control over 40 per cent of the globe's coaling stations enabling Britain to furnish 80 per cent of all bunker coal consumed by steamships.

But between the World Wars I and II, British coal exports dwindled from the all-time peak of 79.5 million tons in 1923 to 36.9 in 1938. One reason was hard-hitting rivalry of other countries, notably Poland, Germany and Russia where coal was becoming an ever more-important export.

Another was the conversion of ocean-going vessels from coal to oil until, by 1938, of the world's merchant marine 50 per cent were propelled by oil as against 3 in 1913.

A third reason was that steam-electric generators could in 1938 produce a kilowatt hour with 15 ounces of coal as against the 3½ pounds required in 1918.

A fourth reason is the much-publicized inefficiency and ineptitude, not divorced from a myopic self-righteousness, of Britain's coal-mine ownership that refused to move with the times.

The result of all these influences is that now a Socialist government is feverishly seeking to mechanize and modernize the British mining industry to put it into a better competitive position on world markets when today's emergency demand at home and abroad is over.

Under nationalization the export of British coal has already increased, despite difficult conditions, from 356 thousand tons in the first four months of 1947 to 1.8 million tons for the corresponding period in 1948, and the export curve is steadily going up.

But Britain has mighty rivals for the international coal market especially on the Continent where Poland is emerging as a major coal producer. As a consequence of frontier readjustments after V-E Day, the Polish coal industry (also government-owned) acquired the coal fields of German Silesia which produced 31.3 million tons in 1938.

With this added to her original resources, Poland is moving rapidly toward an annual output of more than 67 million tons. And she is using coal as the lever for economic restoration.

On its part the Soviet Union has as its goal an annual coal production of 250 million tons by 1950. This would be the greatest in Europe. But, because of the Soviet Union's intensive industrialization plans, this output will have to be reserved to meet internal needs. Despite the damage inflicted upon the Donetz coal mines where Nazi armies blew up surface installations, flooded galleries, destroyed shafts, dynamited wall and pillar rooms, rapid salvage and repair restored these fields to prewar levels.

Moreover, the Soviet Union, perceiving the special vulnerability of its coal and steel network in the Donetz region, has pushed development of the Kuznetsk fields in southern Siberia for the last decade. This is now the most significant coal area within the USSR. It provides the Ural war industries with fuel, and its reserves rival in richness those of the Appalachian fields of the US. To increase output not only in the Donetz and Kuznetsk areas, but also in the Moscow, Petchra and Urals mines, the USSR is invoking Stakhanovist incentives with a new fervor.

THE BATTLE FOR GERMANY GOES ON UNDERGROUND

In the Soviet zone of Germany the coal fields of Saxony and Lower Saxony, and the lignite mines in the Eastern section, are now surpassing prewar levels. In the British zone which includes the fine coal fields of the Ruhr and the Aix-la-Chapelle district, output is now moving toward the prewar norm of 12 million tons of bituminous and 6 million tons of lignite a year. In the French-managed Saar mines production in August, 1948, reached 98 per cent of the 1934-38 average of 14½ million tons a year. In the American zone which contains the smallest fields in Germany, production had been raised by January, 1948 to 134 per cent of 1934-38's average of 3 million tons.

But while output was going up among the four occupied zones of Germany, the final distribution of coal, the who gets what of it, still vexed the Four Powers to whom coal remains a powerhouse of politics.

THE WORLD'S PROVED AND PROBABLE COAL RESERVES

in millions of metric tons

	WORLD	4,600,000	
US	1,975,000	POLAND	138,000
USSR	1,075,000	CANADA	286,000
UK	200,000	CHINA	220,000
GERMANY	289,000	OTHERS	417,000

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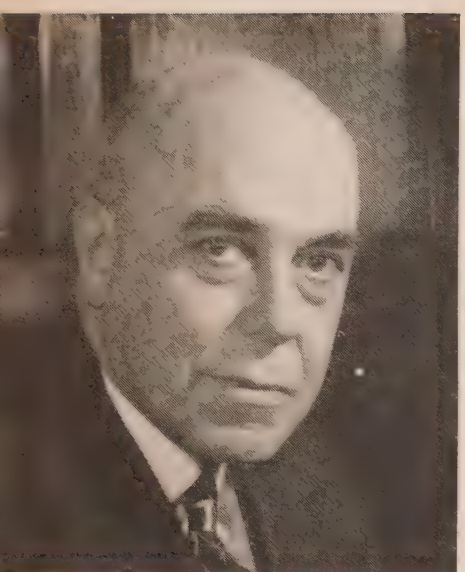

HE AUTHOR—SPECIALIST ON TREATIES

BY AUSTIN FOSTER

General Counsel of the Socony-Vacuum Company and
Chairman of the Treaty Committee of the Foreign Trade Council

UP TILL the advent of World War II, US investments abroad amounted to around 10 billion dollars. There is no reason in common sense, or in the economic needs of the world community, why this figure should not be ten times as large in the future.

This viewpoint, pressed two years ago by the late William K. Jackson, then head of the US Chamber of Commerce, as well as by other vanguard observers, now is being accepted more and more in American business circles.

For it daily becomes more evident that the credits and funds to be advanced under the ERP, or the Export-Import Bank, or the International Bank or Fund, or similar agencies will not be enough. They will be insufficient to create and sustain the ever-higher levels of world productivity and world trade on which world prosperity depends. The dollars earmarked by the US government for economic reconstruction and construction abroad over the next four years now stand at no more than $22.5 billions. And their value has been already—and substantially—reduced by inflation.

Moreover, modern technique, or know-how, does not normally accompany government money as it does the direct investment of a private enterprise. Furthermore, the traditional policy of the United States favors a large measure of private initiative in economic matters and government funds are necessarily subject to restrictions based on political considerations.

Around the globe, the urgent need for new capital investment is too gigantic, too insistent, to expect a single government, even as rich as our own, to assume the entire burden by itself. Other governments, and other peoples with some few exceptions such as Canada, emerged too impoverished from the war to attempt any such underwriting. But in the US, at the end of 1947, there were in private hands $109 billion in individual bank and insurance savings, and more than $11 billion in undistributed private corporate profits. The Board of Directors of the National Foreign Trade Council recently called attention to this "vast reservoir . . . that can be tapped for industrial development and expansion in European countries and elsewhere if conditions are created which will encourage" that investment.

What are these conditions?

What opportunities should be legitimately opened up for the private investor? What rights should be protected, what guarantees should be provided?

The opportunities, rights, and guarantees that will induce US private funds to be invested abroad can be effectively secured by a treaty of "friendship and commerce" which is designed for this purpose.

A treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation strengthens principles underlying international law. Its philosophy is that mutual benefit is the basic motivation for all trade. Its aim is to create the climate favorable to exchange of goods and good-will. It sets forth reciprocal obligations between the two sovereign states that sign this particular variety of "contract." As a rule, it assures to individuals and companies of each "Hig

ontracting Party" either "national" r "most favored nation" treatment, r both.

National treatment means that an merican individual or company perating, for example, in Italy (and eciprocally an Italian individual or ompany operating in the United tates) is granted the same rights as hose enjoyed by its Italian (or merican) counterpart.

Most-favored-nation treatment neans that an American individual r company operating in Italy (and eciprocally an Italian individual or ompany operating in the United tates) is granted rights at least equal o those which Italy (or the United tates) affords to the citizens of any ther country.

WHAT THE ITALIAN-US TREATY REALLY MEANS

The recent Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation signed on February 8, 1948, by Ambassador James Dunn for the US and by Count Carlo Sforza for Italy not only typifies the "national treatment" and most-favored-nation approach but also supplies an illuminating illustration of the ever-growing significance of this kind of treaty for today's world trade.

Its major provisions are:

- American individuals and companies in Italy (like Italians in America) are entitled to national and most-favored-nation treatment in carrying on commercial, manufacturing, processing, financial, scientific, educational, religious, philanthropic and professional activities except the practice of law. They are entitled to the same treatment as to certain rights essential in carrying on these operations, such as the right to acquire or lease appropriate premises, and to employ agents and employees of their choice regardless of nationality.
- Nationals of one country who reside and/or conduct business in the other are to be secure and protected in their persons and property, whether dwellings, or factories or other real estate, or jewelry or bonds; and in their homes and business places they shall not be subjected to unlawful entry or molestation and shall otherwise be safeguarded to the full extent of both national and international law.
- Property cannot be confiscated without full compensation to the owners and without permitting them to take their money out of the country in the currency of their own land, at the most favorable prevailing rate of exchange, without any transfer or remittance tax.
- Americans and Italians are assured free access, on a footing of equality, to the courts of justice.
- Patents, trade marks and labels and names may be registered and used with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the nationals of the other country.
- No additional taxes may be imposed upon American individuals or companies in Italy other than those which are levied upon Italy's nationals, and vice versa.
- No limitations will be placed on the import or export or sale or distribution of any commodity belonging to a national of the other high contracting party unless a similar restriction applies to nationals of all other countries.
- If a foreign trade monopoly is established by either government there shall not be any unreasonable discrimination against the nationals or corporations of the other in buying or selling the commodities exported or imported by the monopoly.
- Cargo and passenger vessels, whether publicly or privately owned, shall have freedom of port and waters on a most-favored-nation basis.
- Freedom of worship and conscience is mutually guaranteed, and adherence to the principles of a free press and free interchange of information is proclaimed.

THE MISCONCEPTIONS THAT INHIBIT INVESTMENT

It must be stressed that this kind of treaty, unlike the trade treaty, does not stipulate tariff duties on imports or exports, either in general or for specific commodities. It has nothing to do with customs quota allotments or currency rates. But in a very fundamental sense, it precedes and contains all these. It provides the broad framework within which particular trade agreements can be arranged. It is a workable instrument of high diplomacy used by governments to set the rules and atmosphere for economic intercourse.

What today inhibits and retards US investment abroad is less the vestigial remnants of an isolationist outlook than lack of foresight on the part of some governments, in welcoming and helping to frame treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation. They fail to perceive that they obstruct the progress toward the very goals they seek, namely, economic expansion and advancements, when they discourage the influx of outside capital by refusing to guarantee to it the rudimentary safeguards of fair return and security of operation.

Consider, for example, an underdeveloped nation named Ruritania. It exists largely on agriculture, raising wheat or oranges for export. It also has a small seaboard fishing industry, and deposits of iron ore, bauxite and copper, still almost entirely underground.

Its living standards are low. To lift them, it requires tractors, fertilizers and sprays to increase the yield of field and orchard. It needs motorized fishing fleets and canneries to capitalize more fully on its catch. It needs drills, pumps, bull-dozers and other mining equipment to extract its minerals. With the aid of these, it could build up important exports, improve national income at all levels. But its government is biased against "exploitation" on the part of foreign investors, and therefore tends to discourage the influx of private "seed-bed" capital necessary for Ruritania's economic growth.

It is true that, as Mr. Willard Thorp, US Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, has pointed out, "Reasons of national security and

THE SEAL PERSONAL

DUNN AND SFORZA sign, then shake on, the new Amreican-Italian treaty.

Investment Capital *continued*

welfare may, in certain circumstances, require limitations on the participation of foreign capital in local enterprise." But that is a far different thing than to discriminate against "foreign capital solely because it is foreign."

Yet suspicion of foreign capital seems unduly to animate some governments. On the one hand, they want US capital, and "know-how." On the other hand, they repel both capital and "know-how" by antagonistic attitudes toward foreign investors and entrepreneurs. Hence many US businessmen worry that, if they did invest in Ruritania, they would soon or late be the victims of adverse discrimination. Yet the Ruritanias of the modern world could induce American businessmen to supply money and machinery and managerial aptitudes by being willing to participate constructively in creating and maintaining the business climate provided for by the kind of treaty signed by the US and Italy; a treaty that could serve as a model for others to come.

In this connection, the peoples of the Ruritanias might particularly ponder the history of US economic development, say from 1778, when Benjamin Franklin as head of an American mission to Paris arranged a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation intended to attract French capital to the American scene. At that time, the newly liberated US lacked industrial facilities of almost every sort. Its roads were tracks in a wilderness. Its monetary system was another word for chaos. But its undeveloped resources were prodigious.

WHEN THE US WAS A RURITANIA

In their negotiations with the French, Franklin and his colleagues did not try to "protect" the US and its natural resources against foreign exploitation. They encouraged it. They did not try to limit the lines of business in which the French might engage, nor try to restrict them to a minority status when they shared in an American business venture.

As a result of this policy, the c of the 19th century saw more t $3 billion of foreign funds inve in American enterprise. No o nation has ever been developed such an extent by means of fore capital, and foreign "know-ho which helped mightily in digging canals, flinging the railroads ac the continent, building iron and s forges and foundries and furna Even though today America is m interested in protecting its own c tal invested abroad, than in induc foreign investment in America, it not changed its basic view that best policy is one which does hamper or inhibit foreign investm

To be sure, there are many co tries with which the US has no tre of friendship, commerce and navi tion; and of existing treaties ma tion; and of existing treaties many obsolete and should be revised. So were negotiated before the US pas its income tax laws, or they anted the state trading monopoly. So even make no mention of corporati as a business entity. The issues a implications raised by these new stitutions should be re-examined modernize US treaty concepts a bring our many archaic treaties i harmony with the changing conditi of our time and America's ba thinking on the world economy.

At the core of that thinking is idea that capital investment should given the chance and incentive stay and thrive, while contributing responsibly and steadily—to the w being of the country where it resid

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Private Trade in Foreign Aid

A Businessman's Manual on E.C.A. John C. Borton, W. Gayer Domini Harry C. Lamberton. The Michie Co pany, Charlottesville, Va. $7.50.

This is the most valuable, complete authoritative handbook so far published the ECA. It shows clearly in a step by s fashion how to do business under the E the rules to be followed, the pitfalls to avoided, even the key personnel who have to be contacted from time to ti The writing is simple, translating techn jargon into readable English.

It goes into similar detail on the op tion of the China program, the handling Export-Import bank loans, and lists fore buying missions in the US. While desig primarily for the businessman, the volu is an indispensable addition to the libr of anyone concerned with today's fore trade problems.

RADE IS FAR FROM FREE
ND IT IS FURTHER
ANDICAPPED BY
RTIFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES
T AMERICANS ARE RIDING
EUROPEAN CARS
ND MORE ARE PLANNING TO

LOGS FROM CONGO IN NEW YORK—BELGIAN EQUIVALENT OF AUSTINS

The Not So Merry DOLLAR-GO-ROUND

BY MARJORIE TAGGART WHITE

RECORD this as a phenomenon of 1948: Two-way trade, which is ospel among the majority of today's atesmen, economists and business-en, displayed signs of becoming ore of a reality and less an exercise rhetoric.

Imports into the US are showing strong upward turn, causing slight t significant shifting in the pattern world commerce. The postwar pe-od has been mainly marked by US ipments abroad, but now the hard ork of peoples round the world, ten inspirited by US aid, is send-g record cargoes back.

Last June total imports into the S amounted to $615.6 million as ainst $549.3 million in May, $477.9 June, 1947, and a prewar monthly erage of $193.1.

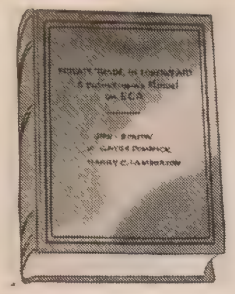
Even when the decline in purchas-g power of the US dollar is taken to account, the money value of im-rts from ECA countries alone has risen 35 per cent above 1939.

The most spectacular performance has been rung up by the UK which in June has increased its sale of goods to the US by 7.2 million dollars over the same month in 1947—a 48 per cent gain. At this rate, British cars, textiles, whiskey, pottery and other products are paying for one-third of US wares sent to the United Kingdom. Belgium and Luxembourg, taken together, and France have similarly enlarged their exports to the US by 35 and 40 per cent respectively. Imports from the Soviet Union are static, at $7.4 million a month, and those from the non-ECA countries of Europe are going down while Mexico, Canada, South America and Asia are compensating, as their sales to the US steadily mount.

Most startling and consequential chapter in the new trade story is the growth in the volume and variety of finished goods shipped into the US. And most visible and dramatic of these is the passenger automobile.

For 40 years, the automobile has been symbol of American ingenuity, productive efficiency, hard-hitting salesmanship. Until recently it seemed fantastic that imported cars could find a ready and lucrative market in the automobile's birthplace and shrine. But inflated prices for American cars, log-jams in delivery, gray-marketeering dealers, and the preoccupation of US manufacturers with big and expensive-to-run models have fostered sales of small, economical foreign makes. The handicaps are the problem of insuring effective nationwide distribution and easy access to repair parts. Today overseas car manufacturers are tackling these bottlenecks, and breaking through.

The British and French are making the most successful bids for car-hungry American customers. So important have US auto sales become for the United Kingdom that in July of this year automobiles supplanted Scotch whiskey as the leading export to the US. During the preceding six months, 8,285 British cars were sold in the US as against 45 in 1938.



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Dollar-Go-Round *continued*

The strategy of the British and French, as well as the Italians, is to concentrate chiefly on the economy features (35 to 50 miles per gallon) and low price and ease of handling of smaller cars at the thrifty extreme, and the snob appeal and exclusivity of cars at the lavish extreme. While they expected to be able to avoid direct price competition with US makes, they have been unable to achieve this on all levels. The "baby" Simca, for example, put out by the French subsidiary of Italy's Fiat corporation, is the most inexpensive of all imported cars. Its two-door sedan sells at $1095 in New York City at a rate up to 300 a month, $95 extra for accessories. Its nearest American counterpart is the Crosley which sells its two-door model at $995 (FOB Detroit) with accessories around $115 extra.

The Renault four-door sedan would seem to be in a price class by itself at $1240. The company has set up more than 200 dealers who stress the French car's engine in the rear and its 50 miles to the gallon. Since April 1948, Renault has sold nearly 3000, and expects to export up to 2500 a month to the US within six months.

The British Austin Motor Co., Ltd., through a New York subsidiary, is bringing in to the US its two-door Dorset sedan at $1595 and its four-door Devon at $1660 (all prices are for New York delivery) at the rate of 1000 a month. It counts on increasing this rapidly as soon as shortages in raw materials ease up.

The latter day Austin is not to be confused with the tiny pre-war model which has disappeared from the market. The current Austins are 12 ft., 9 in. long, seat four comfortably, have four cylinder 40 horse-power engines, sliding tops, four forward speeds, and are the only foreign cars in the low-to-medium price field that come completely equipped with accessories except for radios.

In the Austin price range the chief American competitors are Ford ($1400 for the business coupe to $2090 for the convertible) and Chevrolet ($1317 to $1830). Ford and Chevrolet accessories average from $150 to $175 additional.

At the other end of the price scale are the Rolls-Royce at a minimum of $18,000 to $20,000, and the slig smaller Bentley with a Rolls en which starts at $13,000; the Ita Fiat's Lancia at $7500 to $12,(and the racer ground-hugging mph Cisitalia at $7500 to $8 Even the most expensive Ameri cars such as Cadillac's Seven perial at $6555 and Lincoln's Cos politan at $4146 (FOB Detroit) way below these lordly prices. M immediate rivals, in terms of pr are two other English cars—the H ber-Pullman at $6975, being pus in the US by Sir William Rootes has re-entered the American ma after leaving it in 1917, and Austin special at $6000.

In the great intermediate p groups, such as Buick from $1 to $3021, Chrysler from $2036 $3547, the Kaiser at $2395 and Frazer at $2742, to name but a the British are represented in virt ly every bracket. The Standard C pany of Coventry offers three mo from $2150 to $3850, and Sir liam Rootes the Hillman at $187 $2195, and the Sunbeam Talbot $3500.

Though the number of foreign sold in the US for 1948 will, it is mated, exceed 25,000, it is bu trickle compared to the 260, which, it is estimated, will be ported by American manufactur The important thing is that vita and growth are evident in this as of two-way trade.

The foreign manufacturers are, the whole, sanguine as to their p pects. They realize that the US shortage gave them an exceptio opportunity to make a dent, howe microscopic, in the US market. the moment, they are aided by tendency of US dealers to load down with excessive premium ac sories as a condition of sale, or e to insist on a cash bonus.

The distributors of foreign ma rarely indulge in such practices, marily because they are trying to the groundwork for permanent g will. By making the most of their portunities to win friends now, believe, they can continue — when conditions are normal agai to have and even to enlarge a small slice, but a profitable slice the US car market.

Wanted: *A New Science of Psycho-Economics*

PSYCHO-ECONOMICS IN ACTION: FOREMEN CONFER WITH DIRECTORS

ADAM SMITH AND MARX ARE BOTH DISPROVED BY THE UNDENIABLE FACT THAT MAN IS NOT ECONOMIC MAN NOR INDUSTRIAL MAN BUT SIMPLY AND COMPLEXLY HUMAN

WHETHER IN LABOR OR IN GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS, IN POLITICAL SCIENCE OR ECONOMICS, PROGRESS IS MADE ONLY BY DEALING WITH HUMANS—NOT STATISTICS

BY HERBERT HARRIS
World Business Editor, author of "American Labor" and other books on economic affairs

THE IDEAS of Adam Smith and Karl Marx are accepted even by those who would damn either or both by name.

Smith held that, if everybody would pursue his own economic gain selfishly, economic activity would be guided "by an Unseen Hand." It would keep competition between entrepreneurs in an exquisite balance, furnish a supply for every demand, a job for every worker, funds for every investment opportunity, and maintain prices in a state of equilibrium matched only by the motions of heavenly bodies.

His scheme supposed that men everywhere are motivated entirely by the desire for economic advantage, or fear of its loss, and that everyone has a clear idea of how his own economic interests could be most effectively served.

Although Karl Marx has been generally supposed to be the diametrical —even diabolical—opposite of Adam Smith, his fundamental premises were identical with those advanced by the Smith school.

Marx, too, assumed that value was primarily embodied in material and tangible things. His economic determinism, his dialectical materialism are as rigid and mechanistically perfect as the *laissez-faire* glorified by Adam Smith.

Today's vast assortment of books, monographs and treatises diagnosing the world's economic ailments and suggesting cures stem from these, and derivative, theories.

The majority are characterized by a Chestertonian paradox: their diagnosis is economic, but the remedy they offer is, in the final sense, moral. Whether their authors assign the cause of present difficulties to anarchy or autarchy, to cartels or lack of industrial capacity, to too-much or too-little government intervention, they conclude by calling for the infusion of a new moral awareness into economic affairs, for a new moral climate.

What they are saying, in effect, is that the strictly economic approach to economic problems no longer suffices, that at best it can yield partial solutions and at worst compound confusion. In glimpsing this deficiency they are undeniably correct if not original. The discovery that man cannot live by bread alone was made at least 2000 years ago.

The search today is for a new moral cement that will hold together not only the bricks of a national economy, but also the foundation stones of an emergent world economy. It reflects a growing recognition of the great central fact of our time: that today's science and technology,

Psycho-Economics *continued*

the interdependence of prosperity at home and abroad, have made us all into economic Christians, whether we like it or not. We have come to admit that, though we may not ethically be our brothers' keepers, economically we must act as if we were or perish. A rising standard of living in Indo-China means higher wages for Frenchmen; a prosperous farmer in France means higher profits for the tractor manufacturer in Illinois.

The influence of both Smith and Marx has cluttered up economic literature with such semantic monstrosities as Economic Man and Industrial Man and similar abstractions that exist only on the printed page or in the vocabulary of the seminar.

But—and this is the fundament of my thesis—nobody ever met an Economic Man; no one ever interviewed an Industrial Man (and nobody has ever clasped the Unseen Hand, either). For the only men to be met with in life are people.

Anyone who ever attended a collective bargaining negotiation well knows that men are hardly propelled by economic aims and desired alone. The economic theory sees collective bargaining as a contest between two economic factions, the employer and the union, to decide who gets what out of a particular firm's earnings. But the atmosphere is usually supercharged with emotions that have only an oblique relationship with economic logic.

An employer, for example, may refuse the union's demand for an increase in wages. He knows that to grant it would improve production and morale, and thus enlarge his own profits. But unconsciously he looks upon the very existence of the union as an encroachment upon his rights to conduct his affairs as he may choose. It curtails his freedom of action, the scope of his authority.

When he denies the demand for a wage-increase, his act may be irrational from a purely economic standpoint, but understandable in human terms. He is avenging what is to him a perpetual affront.

By the same token a labor leader may refuse a wage settlement that would enhance his popularity with the rank and file, advance his reputation as a shrewd bargainer, win him promotion and bigger pay within the union's hierarchy. But he fundamentally resents his employer, envies him his college education, his country-club membership, his cultured accent.

Hence to "show him," to prove that he is the stronger, the labor leader may keep pressing for impossible demands. The upshot is that neither wins, in the end both lose.

THE ARTIFICIAL SEPARATION OF GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Another major error in economics, second only to the Smith-Marx fallacy, is the American propensity toward specialization which bisects the old art-science of political economy into the compartments of "politics" and "economics," and hermetically seals them off from each other.

As a consequence, the ceaseless and reciprocal interreaction between private enterprise and public enterprise, between the economic activity of private persons and groups, and the economic activity of the government, has been obscured, although this has always existed in every society, in greater or less degree. As a by-product, economic theory has become remote from reality, arid and sterile, confined to its own ivory-paneled academic cubby hole.

Yet, today especially, the impact of new trade agreements upon maintaining US prosperity, subsidies to the merchant marine, parity payments to the farmer, wage-floors set under labor, and many related phenomena, all attest to the very vital and genuine connection between private business and public business—an organic and living connection that has to be understood rather than dismissed by profanity or platitudes.

OVERSPECIALIZATION THAT MAKES INFORMATION UNUSABLE

One reason why it is not understood is the over-specialization in today's economics, itself an outgrowth of the separation of politics and economics —and the third error. Virtually no one today is and over-all economist in the sense that a doctor is a general practitioner. Instead one is a monetary economist, or an industrial economist, or a labor economist, or a statistical economist, or an agricultural economist. The outcome is that concentration on the parts has blurred knowledge of the whole. A physiologist who sought to create a program of bodily health by studying cell structure alone, with no regard to the functions of the heart, pancreas, bloodstream, cortex, would be in the same position as the economic specialist when asked to develop a program of health for the body economic.

This overspecialization has sponsored the accumulation of acres and miles of facts and figures, of charts and graphs—from the cost of linsey-woolsey in the Rochmond of 1860 to gold movements under the McKinley Administration, from wheat prices in the Chicago Pit in 1914 to US imports from Bolivia in 1947.

Many of these facts are very useful for specific, limited, purposes. But, instead of yielding clues for integration of economic thought, instead of fostering generalization that could give meaning, direction and coherence to today's economic analysis, they tend to deny the underlying unity of all branches of economic activity and to magnify diversity.

The simple pleasure in acquiring and imparting unrelated bits and pieces of information for their own sake has permeated economics to a depressing extent. It is as if every economist were preparing for a guest appearance on the "Information Please" radio program. This trend, when taken together with other causes has done its part to hinder the development of a moral credo suitable to our own economic times and conditions.

THE FAILURE TO EVOLVE A MODERN ECONOMIC MORALITY

For lack of faith in the United States consonant with its material circumstances, Americans indulge overmuch in nostalgia for a past that can never be re-captured—in fear of a future that no one can prevent from happening. It is the failure to evolve a moral modality that would correspond to the economic reality of today's competition and monopoly, foreign trade, federal lending and spending and the like, which is the most serious peril confronting business, educational and government circles.

The world is becoming more and more "collectivist," whether in "mon-

olithic" forms as in Russia, or in democratic forms as in the United Kingdom, Sweden, France. If the essentials of the free enterprise economy are to survive, above all if they are to flourish, they will have to command a deep emotional allegiance that is today ill-informed and undirected.

SUGGESTION: TREAT ECONOMICS AS HUMAN BEHAVIOR

One method of gaining this goal would be to define the free enterprise economy in terms of the primacy of the person, and to make it work more effectively to serve this purpose. This would mean a departure from the rigid mechanistic formulae that still pass as economic thinking. It would mean a conscious effort to adapt the findings of modern dynamic psychology (as epitomized by Freud, Ferenczi, Kardinner, Fromm, Mead and many others) to heighten the day-by-day *participation* of every member of a business undertaking.

It would mean that economic activity would be regarded quite as much as the science of human behaviour as the science of wages, prices, profits, rents, stocks and bonds, et cetera.

Certainly this dualistic approach of combining the psychological with economic factors into a new functional fusion, of relating the individual to the institution, and vice versa, is long overdue on the philosophic level. And on the practical level it could lay the groundwork for generating a living and affirmative belief in free enterprise as perhaps the most workable and equitable economic system in human history. The very existence of this belief would make it both more workable and equitable.

The evaluation of the human element in economic affairs, and the development of methods for their integration, might be called the science of Psycho-Economics. Its primary premise would be that a man earning a livelihood is not an economic abstraction, nor a badge number, nor a statistic, not a digit on a ledger but a whole human personality. He must be seen as one who needs to acquire and use a skill, to have recognition and a sense of "belonging" in his shop or office, together with other needs and wants which, when satisfied or approximated, contribute toward that emotional security which is quite as significant as economic security.

World Files—THE ECONOMIC RECORD

(Continued from page 6)

US ARMY PURCHASES ARGENTINE MEAT
August 4, Buenos Aires. Direct purchase for dollars, without strings attached, under agreement with US Army, not subject to ECA regulations regarding dollar outlays. (202:48)

AUSTRIA-BIZONIA TRADE PACT
August 6, Vienna. Provides for exchange of products, abandons former bizonal policy of accepting dollars only. A separate agreement covers exchange of coal for electric power. (203:48)

BELGIUM-BIZONIA TRADE PACT
August 11, Brussels. Belgium to export $84,000,000 worth of goods to Bizonia in return for $110,000,000 worth of goods, including $35,000,000 in automobiles. (204:48)

RUMANIA DISSOLVES BANKS
August 13, Bucharest. Provides for dissolution of Rumanian private banks. Retained are the Soviet Rumanian Bank, the National Bank of Rumania and some coöperative and professional banks. New banks are forbidden by decree. A new rate of 20,000 old lei for one new leu was set. (205:48)

MONETARY RESTRICTIONS IN HONG KONG
August 15, Hong Kong. Seeks to check flow of sterling to US at cut-rate prices. (206:48)

GERMAN CARTEL ORDERED DISSOLVED
August 17, Berlin. Bipartite Control Office orders Bizonal Department of Economics to dissolve the Deutsche Schrottgemeinschaft, exclusive agent for export of steel scrap. (207:48)

CHINESE FINANCIAL REFORMS
August 19, Nanking. Currency placed on gold basis. Other reforms include tighter control of money, stabilization of wages and prices and increase of national revenue to cover at least 70% of expenditures. (See State of the World, page 4.) (208:48)

NEW ZEALAND MONEY REFORM
August 19, Wellington. Restores New Zealand pound to parity with that of the British. Also provides for downward revision of income taxes for lower brackets. (209:48)

SWISS BLOCK RUMANIAN ASSETS
August 23, Berne. A precautionary measure to safeguard Swiss losses as a result of Rumanian nationalization program. (210:48)

ARGENTINE-YUGOSLAV AGREEMENT
August 23, Buenos Aires. Argentina obligated to take only 70% of exchange in goods, the rest to be paid by Yugoslavia in dollars under supplementary protocol attached to trade agreement of June 7. (211:48)

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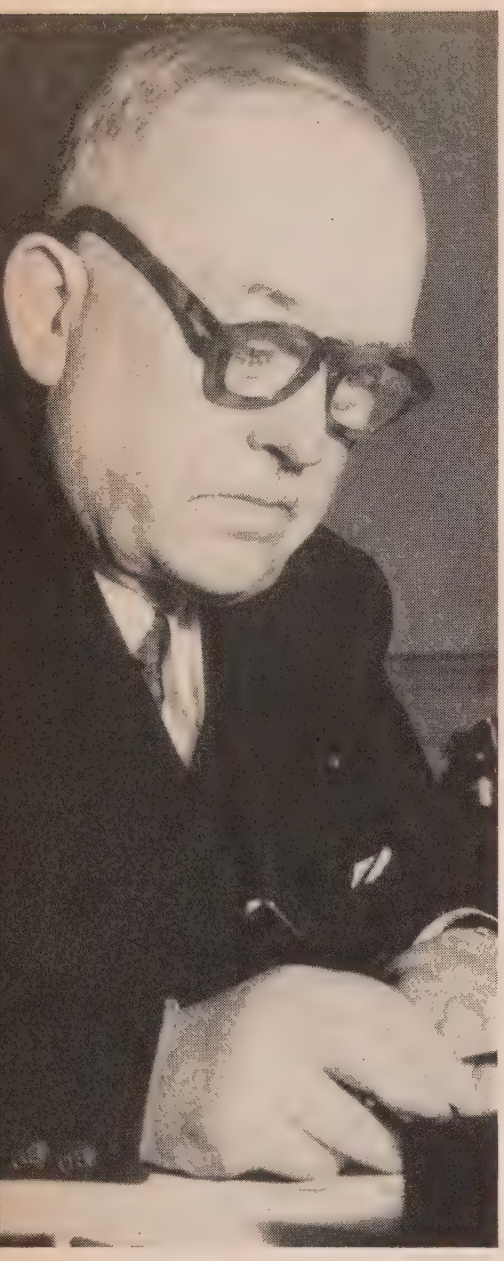

THE AUTHOR: AURIOL OF FRANCE

To make the United Nations effective

President Auriol of France

issues A CALL FOR FORCE

FOR PHYSICAL FORCE –THE ARMS TO CHECK AGGRESSION AND MORAL FORCE—THE ARDOR AND FAITH WHICH UNITED THE NATIONS AND PEOPLES IN WAR AND WHICH, ALONE, CAN ASSURE PROSPERITY AND PEACE

THE PRESIDENT of the French Republic, M. Vincent Auriol, has proven himself to be a master of the art of government, especially during the past few months. Week after week, he has, without departing from his impartial role as President of the Republic, skillfully helped to maintain co-operation among the political parties of the Center who remain unwilling to enter into an alliance with either the extreme Right or the extreme Left.

All the chief political figures of France are convinced that the President has risen to great statesmanship and has, by his performance, added considerably to the authority of the French presidential office which in the past has been more of an honorary than a functional post. Currently he is leading his nation in an unprecedented welcome to the General Assembly, and is participating personally in preparations intended to facilitate the task of the 58 governments.

In the following article (which will also serve as an introduction to the French edition of the *United Nations Year Book* published by UNITED NATIONS WORLD) the President underlines the necessity of endowing UN with physical and moral force indispensable to its success.

M. Auriol sees no reason for either disappointment or surprise in the slowness of development of the UN, for he does not underestimate the difficulty of fusing almost 60 nations into one great political, economic and social structure.

President Auriol recommends to the delegates at the General Assembly a return to the spirit of the Charter and its high principles of international co-operation.

THE EDITORS

At the time when the momentous gathering of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being opened in Paris, we must look back upon the creation of the United Nations organization and its first accomplishments, and derive from them not only the renewed resolution to persevere but also the determination and daring to map new courses.

Goals and principles have been defined. They have been defined magnificently. Everything which characterizes the *raison d'etre* of our common civilization, its ideals, its strivings for peace, for freedom, for social advancement of men and nations, is expressed in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter.

But lofty principles must be converted into living reality. The instrument we must use is the United Nations organization—the international institution which must be able to guarantee and, if need be, to enforce, respect for law and for international decisions. To do this, we must endow the United Nations organization with:

Physical force, as provided in the Charter, but which must be put to work;

Moral force, above all—for institutions are only as strong as the men and nations which sustain them.

This moral force attended the birth of the United Nations, conceived during the war in the common fight against the forces of barbarism, and for the common defense of the life, freedom, independence and the rights of men and nations.

It was during the dark hours, when almost all of Europe lay prostrate under the oppressor, when victory still seemed far away, that the first dawnings of hope and peace arose: the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Declaration.

Let us now re-read and ponder these moving pages setting forth the ideal of the United Nations which consecrated the Allied cause.

Today, statesmen and peoples, in order to gain peace must regain the ardor and faith which upheld them in combat.

THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR DISAPPOINTMENT OR DESPAIR

We should be neither surprised nor disheartened that the original vigor and momentum of the United Nations organization should have been somewhat dissipated and slowed down by the immensity and variety of the tasks it has had to confront.

We must remember that this young world organization is composed of nearly 60 nations, representing the most diverse political, economic and social regimes; that it nourishes the legitimate ambition not only to build the peace but also to bring about co-operation in all fields—political, economic, social, juridical, scientific, medical, cultural—among all the peoples, rich and poor, all the nations, large and small. And all this in a world where war while temporarily held in check is relying for its revenge upon material and moral allies—misery, distrust and fear—left in its wake.

Thus the difficulties faced by the UN cannot be avoided. They do not condemn, but indeed justify the existence of the United Nations organization.

But, to solve these difficulties, we must rise above debates over procedures and details. We must recapture the spirit of the Charter—the authentic spirit of union and international co-operation. Statesmen and nations are accountable for their deeds, before humanity and before history. They must realize that only the success of the United Nations can assure prosperity and peace for all mankind.

The Secretary General Lays Down the Line

LIE LECTURES NOT ONLY THE THIRD ASSEMBLY DELEGATES BUT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

In an exclusive article for UN World **see page 64**

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ECOSOC

practices free speech

approves free trade

but can't free the world's DP's

HOMES, food and ideas were the business of the UN's Economic and Social Council at its seventh session in Geneva. ECOSOC is, perhaps, the only institution in the world where ideological differences are continuously and openly discussed. And it, more than any other UN organ, shows the UN's vast scope. Decisions made by the 18 delegates attending this session—on admission of refugees, on equal rights for women, on flood control—will in time directly affect the fate of many millions of human beings.

Though some of the delegates had themselves starved or been imprisoned in camps—or both—they made but little progress toward final solution of the world's No. 1 social problem: refugees (see page 19).

There was a plethora of talk, a minimum of promises. Some of the speakers most sympathetic with the 500,000 or more refugees still living in camps were contradicted by their own government's immigration policies. Example: Willard Thorpe (US) whose words were always weighed against the discriminatory Displaced Persons Bill passed by the 80th Congress.

A UN-sponsored survey of DP camps, and of the entire refugee problem, points out that comparatively few of the remaining refugees and DPs can be repatriated; the vast majority must be resettled. Too often, national plans for admitting these people have strings attached and inmates of the camps are in danger of being exploited as cheap indentured labor.

Faced with bad conditions in the camps, unfair quota systems in national immigration laws and a general unwillingness of many nations to open their doors to these homeless people, ECOSOC could only direct the IRO to poll all UN members by February, '49, on how many refugees and DPs they can admit. Countries will be asked to admit as many refugees as possible in family units.

UPHOLDING THE THESIS THAT WOMEN ARE PEOPLE

The Council passed a series of resolutions to be applied by national legislatures, guaranteeing equal rights for women to voting, education, employment and so forth. Britain, in mild embarrassment, protested that because of present strained economic conditions, she cannot at this time legislate equal pay for her women workers.

The UN Appeal for Children, first worldwide Community Chest, has ended. Over the last eight months, UNAC collected $17,000,000 from private citizens and businesses in 52 nations. This money will be turned over to the International Children's Emergency Fund or to national relief organizations. A great disappointment was the feeble US response—the goal was $60,000,000, but only $4,000,000 was contributed.

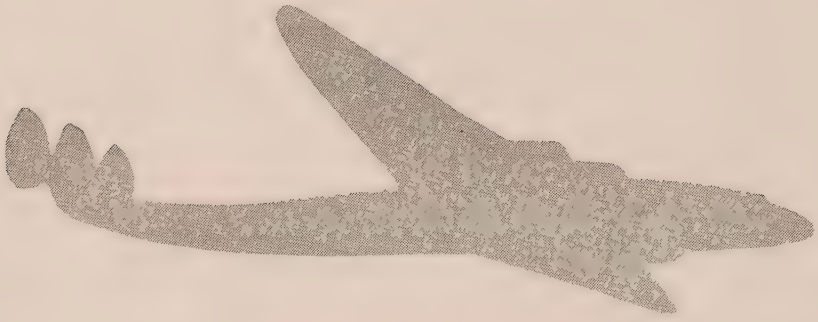
Also disappointing was ECOSOC's failure to put finishing touches on the Declaration of Human Rights, two of three draft conventions guaranteeing freedom of information and the draft Convention on Genocide. All have been passed on in their original form to the General Assembly. Debates on these important matters were curtailed because the Council was in a hurry to wind up the meetings. The only freedom of information convention to be passed was on gathering and international transmission of information.

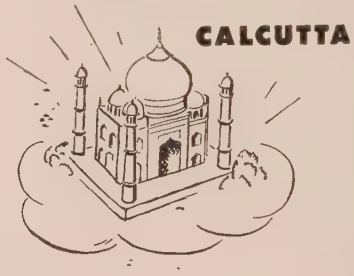
The February session will be held at Lake Success, but the summer session will again be held in Geneva. The vote for Geneva reflected the simmering discontent with American headquarters which reached its peak early this summer when Congress failed to pass the UN Headquarters loan and when the UN was accused of harboring "subversive" elements. (See UNW, September.) At that time, it was even feared that the headquarters might be moved to Europe.

The French delegate, Pierre Mendès-France, led the support for Geneva as ECOSOC's meeting place next summer; the suffering peoples of Europe must be shown that the UN is "at least attempting to deal with the great problems which are the source of misery," he said. Russia's A. A. Arutiunian critized New York's atmosphere—politically and physically. Opponents of Geneva argued that it was an unnecessary added expense. The vote: 11 in favor of Geneva (Australia, Byelorussia, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, Lebanon, Netherlands, Poland, USSR and Venezuela); 7 against (Canada, China, New Zealand, Peru, Turkey, US and UK).

TO JULY 4 ADD ANOTHER

OCTOBER 24 will be United Nations Day. Here President Truman presents his proclamation to Harper Sibley of Rochester, N. Y., who heads the national committee which sponsored the observance of a special day to honor the world organization.





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AIR FRANCE

29 YEARS OF OVERWATER FLYING

Balance Sheet OF THE UN

RECOMMENDATION FOR PARTITIONING OF PALESTINE WAS BUT ONE OF 95 RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SECOND SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HERE IS WHAT HAPPENED TO 14 OF THE MAJOR RESOLUTIONS—BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD ASSEMBLIES.

RESOLUTION:	IMPLEMENTATION:
. . . establishing a Special Balkan Committee to restore normal diplomatic relations, prepare frontier conventions, co-operate on refugees, etc.	Special Committee adopted resolution calling for observation groups on both sides of northern Greek border. Committee was able to maintain observers only on Greek side of frontier. Submits first report to current General Assembly.
. . . condemning all forms of propaganda liable to provoke threat to the peace or encourage aggression.	At Geneva Conference on Freedom of Information a resolution condemning war-mongering was passed unanimously.
. . . establishing Interim Committee to aid the General Assembly in discharging responsibilities for peace and security.	"Little Assembly" opened January 4, 1948, with USSR and Eastern bloc countries absent. Its report recommending limitations on use of the veto (also urging that Little Assembly be continued) is now before the General Assembly.
. . . recommending elections be held in Korea by secret ballot in the spring of 1948.	Elections held on May 10 in Southern Korea were unanimously pronounced "a valid expression of the free will of the electorate." A rival regime was set up in Soviet-occupied Northern Korea.
. . . Big Five should consult on reaching agreement on 11 applicants for UN membership not yet recommended by Council.	Meeting held found that the respective positions of the Big Five had not changed.
. . . requested International Court advisory opinion on whether a member could condition acceptance of one applicant on that of another.	Court stated that a member state has no authority to make its consent to admission of a state dependent on conditions not provided in Article 4 of the Charter.
. . . adopted four rules governing admission of new members.	Rules became effective January 1, 1948, including one stipulating that General Assembly, on Security Council's recommendation, decides by 2/3 majority admissibility of applicant.
. . . asking Economic and Social Council to study factors bearing upon an Economic Commission for the Middle East.	Economic and Social Council recommended the establishment of the Economic Commission for the Middle East during its seventh session but decision was postponed until February, 1949.
. . . endorsing the principles adopted by ILO in respect to freedom of association in trade unions.	San Francisco ILO Conference of July, 1948, approved convention on freedom of association for both workers and employers. The 59 members of ILO were urged to consider this convention for ratification within 18 months.
. . . noting provisional agenda of scheduled UN Conference on Freedom of Information.	Meeting in Geneva, March-April, 1948. Conference prepared draft articles on freedom on information, adopted 43 resolutions, sent to ECOSOC three draft conventions on freedom of information.
. . . recommending teaching of purposes, principles, background and structure of UN in schools of member governments.	Only member government to take action on this resolution was Sweden whose Parliament passed a law recommending teaching about the United Nations in schools.
. . . agreement between the United Nations and member states guaranteeing privileges and immunities of UN personnel.	Has been ratified by 24 UN members. It was included in UN loan bill before US 80th Congress, but action on privileges and immunities clause was postponed until 81st Congress meets next January.
. . . reiterating recommendation providing trusteeship for Southwest Africa.	At the Trusteeship Council's last session, South Africa repeated its decision not to put its former mandate under UN trusteeship. The Union of South Africa report was forwarded to the Assembly for recommendations.
. . . partitioning Palestine into Arab and Jewish states.	State of Israel proclaimed a few hours before British mandate expired on May 15. July 18, Security Council ordered indefinite truce for Holy Land under threat of sanctions, accepted by both Arabs and Jews.

MAJ. GEORGES CUNIN, charged with feeding, housing and protecting UN delegations in Paris, goes over elaborate plans adopted with UNW's Louis Dolivet.

Lake Success at Sea

TRANSITION FROM THE EMPTY CORRIDOR
AT LAKE SUCCESS
TO THE CROWDED CUBBYHOLES
OF THE PALAIS DE CHAILLOT IN PARIS

BY JEANNE WASHABAUGH

LIFE for 2400 of the UN Secretariat at Lake Success goes on, even though the spotlight and 600 of their colleagues have moved to Paris. Last week the corridors in the former gyroscope plant echoed hollowly. Delegates' Lounge, glamorous spot of the UN, commonly milling with diplomats and journalists, is deserted and will soon be closed for repairs. The great square mahogany bar is bare, gleaming faintly under one dim light. Two unidentified individuals dozed in armchairs in opposite corners of the room. Otherwise the Lounge is empty, and ghostly.

Upstairs in the long, gymnasium-like Press Bar, there is a modicum of life, sandwiches and liquor. Clyde Rowe, First Bartender of the UN, is behind the counter, mixing Martinis for secretaries and a few stray newspapermen instead of for delegates in the Lounge downstairs.

The cafeteria, once bubbled over with hungry humanity; now it's never hard to find an empty table. James Hever, cafeteria manager, has been cutting his food orders back to 2400 meals a day. His August average was 4000.

In the absence of Trygve Lie, Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information, is acting SG. On October 1, David Owen, Assistant SG for Economic Affairs, returns from Paris to the reins.

Many departments, depleted Paris, by vacations and annual le for North and South American ployees, will be short-handed working harder than ever. Secreta members are, in many cases, b shifted from office to office to fil gaps.

Although it is quieter than u Lake Success is no "ghost town." business *more* than usual. The D ments Section, for instance, has tremendous job of printing re tions, verbatim records of sess and related documents from ste flown over daily from Paris. while Lake Success' vast mimeog plant runs off thousands of pound words, the same thing is going o the Palais de Chaillot to supply delegations, press and European information centers.

Another hard-working group the stay-at-homes in the Press sion. News of the Assembly is w twice a day for a three-hour pe then transcribed for UN teletype US and for the press here.

Radio coverage of the Paris As bly is excellent. Important spee come directly from Paris by r beam, are transcribed and exc used as part of the UN's regular news broadcasts which are carrie hundreds of stations around world, including more than 10 the US alone. Broadcasts to Eu and Asia, regularly beamed Lake Success, will originate in Palais de Chaillot during the As bly. A UN newsreel camerama covering events at the Palais.

The Lake Success Press Sectio almost silent. Phones seldom ja typewriters are shrouded, repo departed. Many offices are padlo Most New York papers are kee one or two reporters on duty, bu big UN news—the Assembly cove —is being cabled from Paris. A 50 reporters from Lake Success be in Paris for the Assembly.

During the three months or so all is quiet at Lake Success, furn is being cleaned, rugs vacuu desks repaired and offices pai The flurry of bon voyage had pa and the first postcards from Paris been stuck up on the bulletin bo before I left.

In the *Secretariat News* (which continue to be published regu from Lake Success) there had

eared a column of incidental intelligence "for absent friends" in Paris: Cigarettes are up one cent a package . . . weird new cold drink machines ave been installed . . . standing in uses has become the exception rather ıan the rule."

)UEEN MARY AND THE LAST .OAD OF UN-ERS

ABOARD THE QUEEN MARY: If bon oyages are any indication, the Paris General Assembly is going to e a huge success. The Queen Mary ailed at midnight on Sept. 14 carrying the last load of 180 Paris-bound JN delegates, Secretariat members, ınd journalists, among them your correspondent.

Aboard among the last batch of UN lelegates are the representatives of Nicaragua, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, El Salvador, Mexico ınd Venezuela, Faris el Khouri of Syria, chief spokesman for the Arab League, H. T. Andrews of South Africa, Jonkheer Snouck Hurgronjie of the Netherlands, Alexis Kyrou of Greece, Thor Thors of Iceland and McKenzie King of Canada. Among the non-UN notables aboard are Ella Fitzgerald, popular singer, Morris Troper, head of the Joint Distribution Committee, and H. S. Burns, president of Shell Oil.

The American delegation sailed on September 13 on the SS America; among them were Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Warren Austin, Willard Thorp and Frederick Osborn.

From all indications, it will be the most gala Assembly session yet. Paris is going all-out to give the UN its heartiest welcome, with President Auriol honoring delegates at a reception at Versailles and at a shoot on his forest preserves. In addition, symphonies, balls, gym exhibits, a fashion show at the Paris Opera House, a jewelry festival, special museum exhibits and fireworks will make the next three months memorable, and make them pass much too quickly.

As at Lake Success, the UN has extra-territorial rights in the Palais de Chaillot. All costs preparatory to holding the Assembly are being paid by the French Government. Plenary sessions meet in the great Theater whose orchestra has been converted with rows of desks and armchairs for 300 delegates and 300 advisers. At the proscenium, a podium has been built for the president and speakers. Secretaries will sit in the orchestra pit. In the back of the orchestra and in the balcony are seats for 500 journalists, 380 experts, 800 spectators. The stage has been converted into offices for the Assembly president, Secretary General Trygve Lie and his Executive Assistant, Andrew Cordier. Actor's dressing rooms backstage are radio studios. One is a branch post office.

When the Security Council meets, a metal partition is slid along the back of the theater at the loges and the familiar horseshoe table will be put up at the proscenium. Windowed booths have been built into the side walls.

The theater bar will continue to function and a restaurant for delegates and press has been built. On the top floor of the theater, a central switchboard has been installed to handle 1200 UN phones.

The entire Palais will be heated or air-conditioned as the temperature requires; fire protection has been improved. Many of these improvements will stay after the UN leaves. None of the art treasures and exhibits of Palais de Chaillot have been moved out but put in storage or boarded up.

Outside on the lawn of the Place du Trocadero has been built a temporary reception center, including offices for money exchange, travel and theater information and a restaurant for UN personnel.

One person who shed no tears when the Queen Mary departed was pretty, blond Esther Tomaski. She's the girl who arranged most of the bookings for UN delegates and personnel going to the Assembly. That meant pleasing occasionally fussy diplomats, collecting checks, passing out official black and white UN baggage tags. But before the *Mary* left, Miss Tomaski smiled wearily. "It's been a huge headache—but now that I look back, it's been kind of fun, too!"

The United Nations isn't limiting itself to Paris and Lake Success. UN meetings are being held in 10 cities around the world this month.

■ Geneva: International Labor Organibation conference of industrial safety; third session of International Telecommunications Union's administrative council; first session of International Refugee Organization's General Council; Interim Commission of International Trade Organization.

■ Mexico City: Food and Agriculture Organization meeting on statistics.

■ Florence, Italy: FAO meeting of soil conservation experts.

■ Interlaken, Switzerland: UNESCO conference on high altitude research.

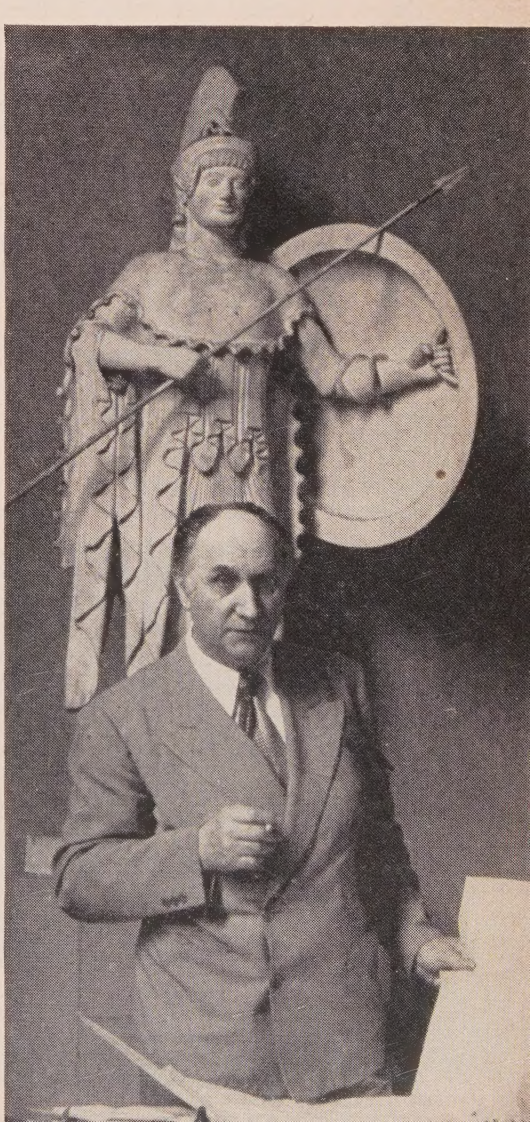
■ Manchester: UNESCO summer school for librarians (and in London).

■ Montevideo: UNESCO's Latin American Conference on Development of Science.

■ Montreal: fifth session of International Civil Aviation's Organization's Council.

■ Lisbon, Portugal: ICAO Legal Committee.

■ Washington, D.C.: meeting of Board of Governors of International Bank and International Monetary Fund.



ARCHITECT JACQUES CARLU, who built it, converts the Palais de Chaillot from a museum into the world's most exotic office building—combining art with technology.

Trygve Lie *lays down the line*

THERE'S NO MAGIC IN THE UNITED NATIONS

It can only do as much as its members states—particularly the great powers—want it to accomplish

THE Third General Assembly of the United Nations meets at a critical juncture in modern history. It is the imperative demand of these troubled times that all efforts to achieve world-wide political stability be sound in concept and realistic in execution. The idea of a World Government to replace the United Nations is neither sound nor realistic. It is an unpolitical mirage which, at this stage, can make no useful contribution toward resolving the conflicts which confront mankind.

We have to work hard in a genuinely united effort to make the UN succeed—but it must be kept in mind that the primary precondition of this success still lies beyond the UN itself. Before the UN can function effectively, it is up to the Great Powers to reconcile their differences and develop means by which final peace settlements can liquidate the aftermath of the recent World War.

Germany's future in Europe and Japan's place in the Far East are of vital importance from the viewpoint of world peace. In any peace settlement of lasting value, the people of Germany must be afforded the opportunities for a useful life conducive to progress and democratic evolution. But we must never neglect to apply safeguards assuring us that Germany, under whatever form of government it may adopt, may never again become a threat to its neighbors. The same considerations apply to Japan.

The absence of peace settlements with Germany and Japan has now poisoned the political atmosphere of the world for too long a time. Moreover, it is primarily responsible for undermining relations among the Great Powers. Instead of freedom from fear, the world at large is tormented by insecurity. Considerable areas are menaced by war or are actually experiencing the scourge of aggression. The Great Powers continue their armament race. Even the smaller nations are obliged to strengthen their defenses at prohibitive costs to themselves and world economic recovery.

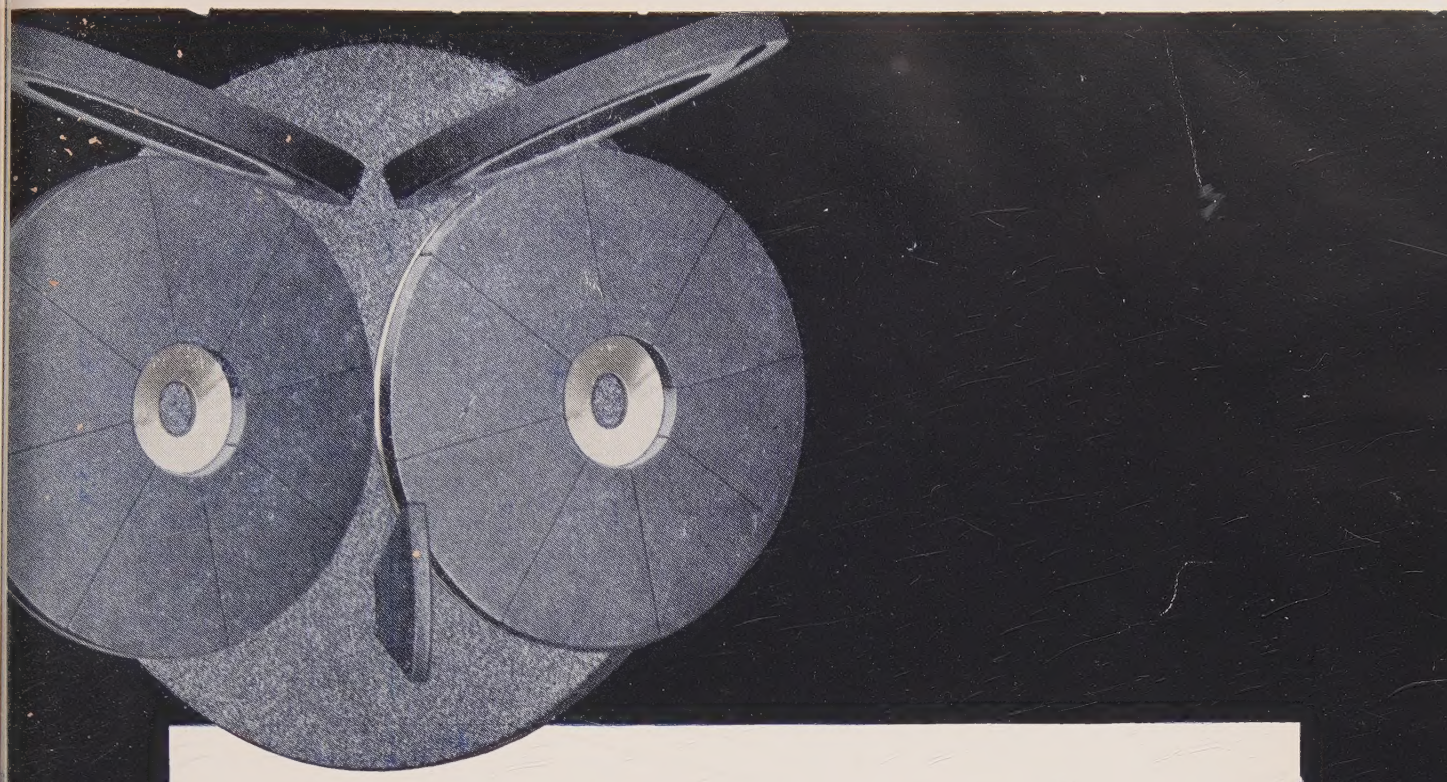
Not until peace is restored to the world—complete and indivisible peace—will the United Nations obtain that firm political foundation that is necessary for its effect performance.

In the meantime, crucial issues brought before United Nations cannot be dealt with effectively or sett definitely. Thus, for example, Great Power rivalries differences prevented the UN from reaching agreement the international police force, on the control of ato energy, on measures of disarmament. It is now evident all that the protracted conflicts among the Great Pow made a solution of these problems—or even their ec table or constructive discussion—virtually impossible.

Thus, if UN can report no positive or heartening sults on these important issues, it is not the fault of international organization. UN represents merely the c lective will of its members to co-operate on the solut of problems affecting all. The UN by itself is no ma formula. As long as the Great Powers persist in th present attitudes, as long as they fail to find a comn formula for their actions within UN, the internatio organization will not be able to fulfill completely great task mankind has assigned to it.

Fortunately, the interests of the Great Powers have always clashed. Whenever joint action was possi through agreement among them, UN proved itself capa in disposing of conflicts of momentous international c sequence. Palestine is a case in point. It would be diffi to find a more complex question—one that has plag international bodies over so long a time with no solut being achieved. But UN succeeded in working out a pl and while its eventual success is by no means assured contains the promise of ultimate peace and tranquillity that troubled part of the world.

As the Third General Assembly of the United Nati meets in Paris, delegates from 58 member nations fin long, carefully prepared agenda the individual items which will require study and protracted discussion. Th fore, I expect that this Third Assembly will continue into December. Upon its decisions and resolutions future happiness of man will largely depend.



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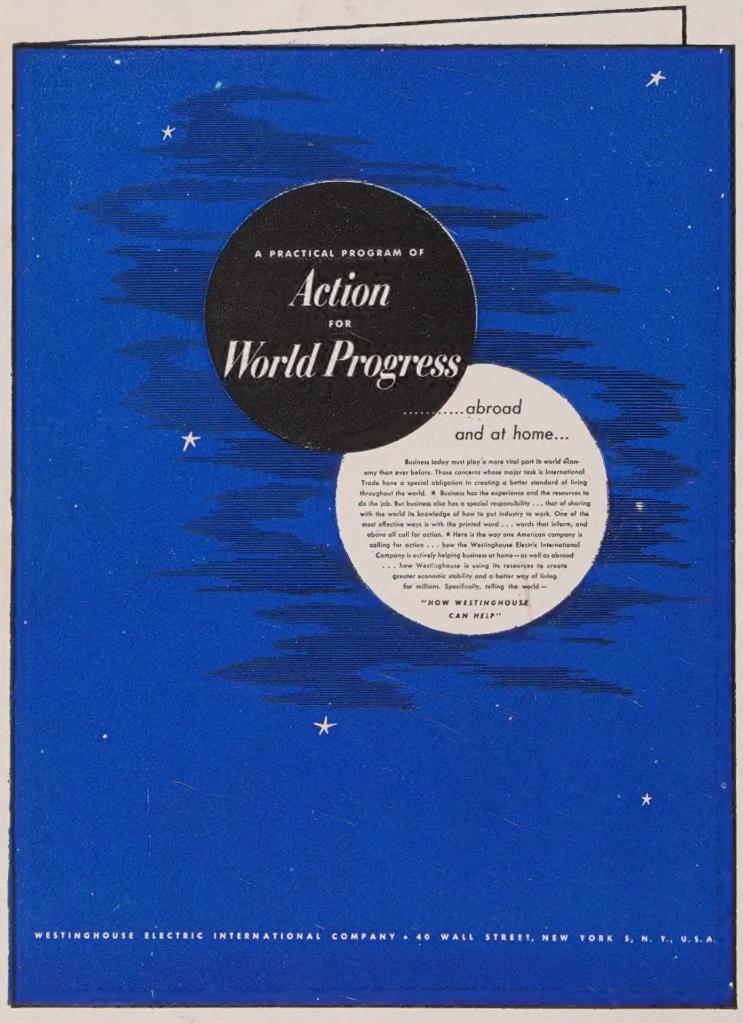
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